

**EASTERN CULTS
IN
MOESIA INFERIOR AND THRACIA
(5TH CENTURY BC - 4TH CENTURY AD)**

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 92 PLATES AND 3 MAPS



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FOREWORD

The main objective of the present study is to fill a gap in contemporary historiography of the ancient religions by bringing to the knowledge of scientific circles the numerous relics that have come to light in the Thracian lands to the south of the Danube and which testify to the diffusion and nature of the so called eastern cults. The greater part of them, published in Bulgarian periodicals and monographs after the appearance of Academician G. Kazarov's article in the *Real Encyclopädie* of Pauly Wissowa in 1936 (vol. VI A), are to all intents and purposes inaccessible to foreign researchers and so the valuable information they convey has not as yet been made use of in solving a series of problems pertaining to the history of the eastern religions.

Another and no less important objective of the present study is to clarify some problems concerning the nature of Thracian religion in the light of these relics. A great deal of research has been made in recent years in the field placing the analysis of Thracian religious phenomena on a scientific basis by pinpointing the traditional religious concepts freed from the accumulations of foreign influence. These investigations touching pre-eminently on the problems and phenomena of Thracian religious life in the period of political independence, are based above all on ancient tradition and linguistic studies, but in some cases the method of complex research has been applied by employing the information obtainable from archaeological finds, coins, etc. The lately discovered monuments, be they epigraphic or archaeological, which convey valuable information on Thracian religiosity, have not as yet been taken into account in this complex research. These monuments are a source for observations and assumptions not only about the Thracian pantheon of the Thracian provinces of the Roman Empire, but are also a solid base for a retrospective glimpse into remote Thracian antiquity, a method that has for all practical purposes gone out of use in the past fifty years. The attempt of applying it here in interpreting the information obtainable from the relics of the eastern cults has resulted in forming the section on the Anatolian-Balkan cults.

As to territory, the present study is confined to the provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thracia. The cities of the northern Pontic littoral of Moesia Inferior, as well as Byzantium and the Thracian Chersonesos have remained outside its scope.

This limitation of scope has been dictated by contemporary practice in studying the two provinces, a practice which takes into consideration the close links of the Greek colonies on the North Pontic littoral and the Bosporan

Kingdom, as well as the brief incorporation of Byzantium into the province of Thracia, a circumstance that has been attested with certainty for the period of the Severi alone.

Because of their importance for the religious history of the Thracians also some rare documents from an anonymous city in the valley of the river Struma are mentioned though in Antiquity belonging to the province Macedonia (I, 35, 36; VI, 12).

As to time span, the study includes the monuments dated to the 5th-4th century BC at the earliest and the 4th century AD at the latest.

The study is based on the extant epigraphic and archaeological relics, but in the interpretation use has been made of the scanty information in ancient tradition and the coin issues of the cities in the two provinces.

All available publications up to the end of 1978 have been used by the author, and whenever possible and necessary, also those of 1979-1980. Since part of the areas under review is today situated on the territory of Rumania, Greece and Turkey, it is possible that some monuments, newly discovered and published in those countries, may have escaped the author's attention. The classical appellation of Eastern cults and all that it signifies has been accepted here by the author because of the tradition and in spite of the fully valid separation of the so-called Balkan-Anatolian cults that has been applied here. The study does not include the cult of Mithras since that was the subject of a dissertation that was defended a few years previously and the publication of which was expected.

The one and the same method has been applied in examining the various cults. There is a separate catalogue for each individual cult successively listing the monuments from Moesia Inferior and Thracia; at the end of each catalogue the monuments of unknown provenance are set apart by asterisks, including those whose link with the cult under consideration is not certain or is incorrectly assumed (in the author's opinion). In setting apart the monuments from the two provinces, the boundary line between Moesia Inferior and Thracia fixed in the reign of Septimius Severus has been taken into account since the overwhelming part of the relics belong to the period after its establishment.

The monuments are listed in the catalogue according to their provenance following a west-east direction; a chronological arrangement for the various provenances has been adhered to as far as that has been possible. For clarity's sake each monument is quoted by its number in the catalogue preceded by a Roman numeral which stands for the different cults. Owing to the same consideration, a code number is used for reference in the interpretation; the Roman numeral indicates the cult, while the Arabic, preceded by the letter B, designates the subtitle of the interpretation to which reference is made.

The monuments included in G. Kazarov's corpus of Greek inscriptions are quoted according to that publication; the same holds true of the inscriptions published by L. Vidman and P. Merlat. Exceptions have been made only where it has been necessary to likewise indicate different readings. As to the rest of the monuments, the author has quoted all publications known to her.

The present study has been made possible thanks to the assistance and encouragement of M. J. Vermaseren, the editor of the series, as well as of Professor A. Fol, holder of the chair of ancient history at the faculty of history with the Clement of Ohrid University in Sofia, and also of Professors V. Velkov, G. Mihailov and B. Gerov, to whom the author expresses her deep gratitude. She is also grateful for the co-operation and assistance of her colleagues at the chair of ancient history at the faculty of history, as well as of the scientific institutes and museums in Bulgaria, the USSR, the Netherlands, Greece, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary and Rumania, and also to V. Zhelyazkova, for her efforts and thoroughness in the translation of the text into English.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
AAPh	<i>Acta Antiqua Philippopolitana</i> , Serdicae 1963.
AB	<i>Archäologisches Beiblatt.</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
ActaArchHung	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
Actes du I.CIEB	<i>Actes du I. Congrès Intern. des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes</i> II, 1971.
AEM	<i>Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.</i>
AJA	<i>The American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.</i>
Ancient Macedonia	<i>Ancient Macedonia.</i> Papers read at the First Intern. Symposium held in Thessaloniki, 26-29 August, 1968. Thessaloniki 1970.
ArchEph	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.
ArchErt	<i>Archeologiai Ertesitő.</i>
BHR	<i>Bulgarian Historical Review.</i>
BAIESEE	<i>Bulletin de l'Association Intern. des Études Sud-Est Européennes.</i>
Bull.ép.	J. et L. Robert, <i>Bulletin épigraphique.</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.</i>
DA	Ch. Daremberg - E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines</i> , Paris 1877-1919.
ED	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana.</i>
EH	<i>Études historiques.</i>
Éléments orientaux	<i>Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne.</i> Colloque de Strasbourg, 22-24 mai, 1958. Paris 1960.
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain</i> , publiées par M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden.
Festschrift	<i>Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976</i>
F. K. Dörner	I-II (EPRO 66), Leiden 1978.
GNM	Годишник на Народния археологически музей, София = <i>Godishnik na Narodniya Arheologicheski mouzeii</i> , Sofia.
GPLNBM	Годишник на Пловдивската Народна библиотека и музей = <i>Godishnik na Plovdivskata narodna biblioteka i mouzeii.</i>
GPLNM	Годишник на Пловдивския археологически музей = <i>Godishnik na Plovdivskiya arheologicheski mouzeii.</i>
GSU	Годишник на Софийския университет = <i>Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet.</i>
FF	Филологически факултет = <i>Filologicheski fakoultet.</i>
FIF	Философско-исторически факултет = <i>Filosofsko-Istori-cheski fakoultet.</i>

- FzF Факултет западни филологии = *Fakoultet zapadni filologii*.
 IF Исторически факултет = *Istoricheski fakoultet*.
 IFF Историко-филологически факултет = *Istoriko-filologicheski fakoultet*.
 GrRBSt *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.
 Hellenica L. Robert, *Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* I sqq., Paris 1940 sqq.
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 M. J. Vermaseren
 HThR *The Harvard Theological Review*.
 IAI Известия на Археологическия институт, София = *Izvestiya na Arheologicheskaya Institut, Sofia*.
 IBAD Известия на българското археологическо дружество = *Izvestiya na Bulgarskoto arheologicheskoto drouzhestvo*.
 IBID Известия на българското историческо дружество = *Izvestiya na Bulgarskoto istoricheskoto drouzhestvo*.
 INMV Известия на народния музей във Варна = *Izvestiya na Narodniya mouzeii vuv Varna*.
 IRAIK Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе = *Izvestiya Rousskogo arheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinople*.
 IAK Известия Императорской археологической комиссии = *Izvestiya imperatorskoi arheologicheskoi komissii*.
 IVAD Известия на Варненското археологическо дружество = *Izvestiya na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto drouzhestvo*.
 JdI *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*.
 JHS *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
 JRS *The Journal of Roman Studies*.
 Kl.Pauly *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike, auf der Grundlage von Pauli's RE der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, bearb. und hgg. von K. Ziegler - W. Sontheimer, I sqq., 1961/62 sqq.
 KSIA Краткие сообщения института археологии, Москва = *Kratkie soobshteniya instituta arheologii, Moskva*.
 LB *Linguistique balkanique*, Sofia.
 MIA Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР = *Materiali i issledovaniya po arheologii SSSR*.
 MPK Музеи и паметници на културата = *Mouzei i pametnitsi na koultourata*.
 MSb Сборник за народни умотворения наука и книжнина = *Sbornik za narodni ouchotvoreniya nauka i knizhnina*.
 NBLGU Научный бюллетень Ленинградского Государственного Университета = *Naouchnii byulleten Leningradskogo Gosoudarstvennogo Universiteta*.
 RA *Revue archéologique*.
 RACH *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*.
 RE A. Pauly - G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

REA	<i>Revue des Études anciennes.</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études grecques.</i>
Religions	<i>Religions in Antiquity. Essays in Memory of E. R. Goodenough</i> , Leiden 1900.
Revue phil.	<i>Revue philologique.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue d'histoire des religions.</i>
RM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.</i>
Roscher's L.	W. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> , I sqq., Leipzig 1884 sqq.
SA	Советская археология = <i>Sovetskaya arheologiya</i> .
Serta Kazaroviana =	IAI 17, 1950.
SB der preuss. Akad.	<i>Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse.</i>
StCl	<i>Studii Clasice.</i>
Studia Dechev	Изследвания в чест на акад. Д. Дечев по случай 80-годишнината му. С., 1958 = <i>Izsledvaniya v chest na akademik D. Dechev po slouchaii 80-godishninata mou</i> , Sofia 1958.
VDI	Вестник древней истории = <i>Vestnik drevnei istorii</i> .
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i>

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SECTION ONE

EGYPTIAN CULTS

I. THE CULT OF SARAPIS AND ISIS

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments of Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Osiris, Horus-Harpocrates, Re

MOESIA INFERIOR

(I, 1-33)

1. Byala Slatina.

Slab broken at the top and bottom.

Skorpil CIL III 12387; Frankfurter in *AM* 14, 1891, 158, No 6; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 227, No. 558; A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, Budapest, 1940, 77; Vidman, *SIRIS*, 702.

[Iovi optimo maximo Soli (?)]
[Sar]apidi pro sa[l(ute) imperato]-
[rum] Caesarum Au[g(ustorum) M. Aureli An-
[to]nini et L. Aureli Veri [et Faustinae]
[Au]g(ustae) liber(or)um]q(ue) eorum t[emplum cum sig]-
[ni]s M. Ialli(us) Bass(us) le[g(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr. in]-
[ch]oavit, consummavit
[....]eg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)

Dated to after 164 since, according to A. Stein, the legate M. Iallius Bassus Valerianus was in Moesia Inferior in 163-164, when the building of the temple began. The same writer is of the opinion that the building was finished under the next known legate M. Pontius Laelianus. Ritterling assumes that the latter was a legate in Moesia Inferior not earlier than 166.

The supplement in the text before the name of Sarapis is suggested by the syncretism of Sarapis with Sol and Zeus (Jupiter), epigraphically attested as early as the reign of Trajan (Vidman, No 171). The syncretism is particularly characteristic of this same kind of inscription from the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Vidman, Nos 335, 336), as well as of other inscriptions which in all probability refer to the period of the Antonines. It is also attested in an inscription from Serdica, again from the reign of Marcus Aurelius; in it Jupiter Optimus Maximus is given in Greek as Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος (I, 34).

The problem of localizing the temple is a difficult one and remains open for the present. There are no available data about an ancient settlement on the territory of Byala Slatina; it is here that B. Gerov localizes a large Imperial domain. The nearest cities in Moesia Inferior were Municipium Montanensium and Ulpia Oescus; the latter was a little nearer, lying as it did less than 60 km as the crow flies. In CIL there is a reference for the said inscription to CIL III

12385 from the village of Gromshin (some 30 km to the north-east of Municipium Montanensium). It tells of the reconstruction of a temple under the legate.

However, it is not possible to link the two inscriptions since the legate was in Moesia Inferior in 161-163, that is to say before the building of the temple began (Stein, 76); it is interesting to note that his name appears on an inscription from Municipium Montanensium with a dedication to Apollo and Diana Regina (CIL III 12373).

The presumed localization of the temple in Oescus is based on the circumstance that other archaeological finds (see I, 2-4) have come to light in this city and its territory. The bronze *sistrum* (I, 4), as well as the statuette which I believe to be that of a high priestess of Isis, and not of the goddess herself (I, 3), testify to the actual practising of the cults in Oescus. Having arisen as a *canabae* settlement of the legio V Macedonica, the city became a colony under Trajan. The introduction of the Egyptian cults may be linked with the presence of the legion and also of the attested considerable number of predominantly Anatolian settlers who provided a favourable climate for their diffusion.

2. From the village of Dubovan, formerly Charchelan, Pleven district (near Oescus). Plate I

Bronze bust of Helios-Sarapis, 0.093 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 6354.

I. Velkov in *IAI* VI, 1930/31, 307, fig. 227.

The bust is set on a pediment in the shape of an altar. The treatment of Sarapis is conventional: he has a beard and long, wavy hair rolled into a wreath. A kalathos with three olive twigs is placed on his head. Traces of the rays of Helios may still be seen in his hair. He is dressed in a chiton and a himation is thrown over his left shoulder. The bust must have been fixed on a wooden stick, particles of which I found in a hole in the head. It was probably discovered by the tombstone of a soldier as indicated in the text.

Sarapis-Helios first appeared in sculpture on a terracotta lamp from Fayum. This syncretism was a frequent occurrence in the Imperial epoch.¹ The deity's kalathos has not been found anywhere with indications of the wicker basket. The twigs on the kalathos belong to the second type described by Hornbostel; they have neither leaves nor fruit.²

The bust is a close parallel to the one discovered in Anchialus (I, 46) and dated by Hornbostel to the age of the Severi.³ That gave me ground to assign this particular bust to the same period.

3. Oescus - Gigen

Plate II

Stone statue of Isis (?). Unpublished.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7692.

In the museum inventory book the find is described as part of a female torso with a himation tied in the Isis knot on the breast. Therefore, the identification with the goddess is not certain; it is possible that the torso could have been that of a statue of a high priestess (see under I, 19).

4. Oescus

Plate II

Bronze *sistrum* of Isis, 0.19 m long (without the representation of the cat).
At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 6844.

Danov in *IBID* 16-17, 1940, 110.

This *sistrum* has the conventional shape of the musical instrument which is a typical accessory of the Isis cult. Four metal wires inserted into small holes, cut across its U-shaped part. This part has a handle next to which are depicted pine cones and a crab with two pincers. At the top is the likeness of a cat (a decorative element characteristic of the *sistrums*) with two suckling kittens. The cat's head carries two horns in the shape of an inverted crescent out of whose centre a wheatear shoots up. This representation is reminiscent of Isis' ornament in which the lotus flower has been substituted by an ear of corn. Here is indicated Isis' property of dispensing fertility and, to an extent, her link with Demeter; this linkage is part of the goddess' image as conceived in the Thracian lands. A coin from Perinthus carries the likeness of Poppaea Sabina on the obverse and the ornament of Isis set between two crossed wheatears,⁴ on the reverse.

5. Nicopolis ad Istrum - Village of Nikyup, Turnovo district.

Plate III

Fragment of a marble slab with relief, 0.36 m thick.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1038.

V. Dobrouski in *MSb* 18, 1901, 734, No 29; Seure *RA* XII, 1908, 74, No 4; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 288, No 567.

The river god Nile with curly hair and a beard and clad in a himation, is represented on the relief reclining on a rock. With his left hand he is holding a slightly tilted jar from which water is spilling; in his right hand is a reed. A Triton with a fishtail and an oar is depicted to the left and a crocodile, lapping up the water, is to be seen in front of the rock. To the right are wheatears, the symbol of fertility. It is assumed that the slab was part of the decoration of a temple to Sarapis.

The slab may be dated with a good deal of certainty to the early days of the Severi.

6. Popovo (midway between the territories of **Nicopolis ad Istrum** and **Marcianopolis**).

Bronze statuette of Sarapis, 0.08 m high.

In the high school museum (according to the publisher).

I was unable to locate it.

Velkov in *IAI* V, 1929, 376, No 4.

A standing Sarapis with a kalathos. The right hand had been broken off. In his left, he is holding a palm branch.

7. Troesmis - Iglitsa.

Capital of a column, now lost. All researchers refer to the text in CIL.

CIL III 6164; Vidman, *SIRIS*, 710.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Serapi

The form Serapi is to be found in an inscription from Puteoli in Vidman, No. 497. According to L. Robert,⁵ it is older than Sarapidi.

8. Durostorum - Silistra.

Plate IV

Sundial with representations of Sarapis and Isis. Measurements: $0.88 \times 0.83 \times 0.13$ m.

At the District Museum of History in Silistra, No 1800.

Mladenova in *SA*, 1961, vol. 4, 274, fig. 2 a, b.

Orpheus, playing the lyre and surrounded by birds and animals, is depicted underneath the dial. On either side are the busts of Sarapis and Isis set on columns with Corinthian capitals. Isis on the left wears a himation; her head is adorned with a lotus flower and her hair is dressed in the so called Melonen-frisur. On the right-hand column is a bearded Sarapis in a himation and with a kalathos. According to J. Mladenova, the presence of Sarapis and Isis among the figures on the sundial may be explained by the god's role in the solar myth and by the concept of Isis as goddess of the moon.⁶ On the strength of the stylistic analysis of the representations, she dates the relic to about the 3rd century AD, after the reign of Septimius Severus.

9. Dionysopolis - Balchik.

Plate V

Marble slab broken at the top. Measurements: $0.76 \times 0.465 \times 0.09$.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1200.

Mihailov, *IGB* I, 13; Vidman, *SIRIS*, 703.

- [----- ἀπέ]λυσεν τὸν δῆμον, ἱερεὺς τε γενόμεν[ος]
 10 [- ? τοῦ Μεγ]άλου τάς τε πομπὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας [ἐ]-
 [πετέλεσε λαμπρ]ῶς καὶ τοῖς πολίταις μετέδωκεν τ[ῶν]
 [κρεῶν, τῷ τε Σαρ]άπει λαχὼν ἱερεὺς ὁμοίως τοῖς δαπ[ανή]-
 [μασιν ἀνεστράφ]η καλῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως, τοῦ τε ἐπωνύ[μου]
 [τῆς πόλεως Διον]ύσου οὐκ ἔχοντος ἱερῇ ἀφ' ἐτῶν πληόν[ων]
 15 [παρακληθεὶς ὑ]πὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν κ[αὶ κα]-
 [τὰ τὴν Γαί]ου Ἀντωνίου παραχειμασίαν ἀναλαβ[ών]
 [τὸν στέφανο]ν τοῦ θεοῦ τάς τε πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας [ἐπε]-
 [τέλεσε καλ]ῶς καὶ μεγαλομερῶς καὶ τοῖς πολίταις μ[ε]-
 [τέδωκε κρε]ῶν ἀφθόνως κτλ.

Ca 48 BC.

This much researched decree about Akornion shows that the latter was a high priest of Sarapis, very likely with a one-year mandate,⁷ and also that the Sarapis cult was a public one in Dionysopolis.

10. Dionysopolis

Plate VI

Terracotta representation of Osiris, broken at the bottom, 0.115 m high.
 At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 2221.

T. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, G. Toncheva, *Antichni terakoti v Bulgaria*, Sofia 1971, No 112.

Osiris is portrayed standing, in full face, with a long pointed beard and a high crown placed above the ears. In his hands, folded on the chest, may be seen the butts of the crook and flail. According to the writers, the terracotta was imported from Egypt during the Roman period.

11. Dionysopolis

Fragment of a clay vessel with the representation of Re.

At the museum in Balchik. To be published shortly by G. Toncheva, to whom I am indebted for the information and photo.

The fragment is of a biconical clay musical instrument. On it are depicted a musician playing before the god Re and pictograms. Since the representations on the vessel seem to be in the rough, G. Toncheva supposes that this instrument, an accessory to Egyptian funerary rites, must have been made at Dionysopolis.

The fragment was discovered during excavations of a phase dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC.

12. Callatis - Mangalia.

Bronze objects associated with the cult of Isis.

From the collection of N. Roscouletz in Constanța.

Tafrali in *RA* XXI, 1925, 277 ff.; Same writer, *La cité pontique de Callatis* in *Arta și arheologia* I, 1927, 1, 41 ff., No 10-12.

The objects are grave goods from a burial in the necropolis to the north of Mangalia:

No 10 (a). Two identical masks representing women's heads; their curly locks are caught above the forehead in a coronet or ribbon.

(b). Two identical masks representing women's heads their hair dressed in the characteristic Egyptian style. Crescent-like ornaments are to be discerned on their foreheads. The vertebrae of Osiris are arranged in three rows at the back of the heads. These masks are also mentioned by Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 228, No 565.

No 11. Small ornament in the shape of a head. The hair is parted in the middle and wrapped in the striped Egyptian fabric (Klaft) which is rolled up at the top and ends in an acanthus leaf at the bottom. The measurements of the bronze ornament are: length 0.042 m and width 0.03 m.

No 12. Small female bust of chiselled bronze. The hair is parted in the middle and the ornaments of Isis, the lotus flower and the crescent, adorn the head. Measurements: length 0.05 m and width 0.04 m.

13. Tomi - Constanța.

Stone stele. Measurements: height 0.41 m, width 0.19 m, length 0.13 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 926.

G. Tocilescu* in *AEM* 6, 1882, 23, No 64; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 228, No 564; Fraser in *Opuscula Atheniensi* III, 1960, 53, No 9, n. 2, 38; Pippidi in *Studii clasice* 6, 1964, 107, fig. 18; Vidman, *SIRIS*, 704; Fr. Dunand, *o.c.*, cf. II, 67; III, 107, 238.

- λυι ---

- σδρο ---

[π]ρώτου [τῆς "Ισι]-

5 δος τοῖς [χαλου]-

μένοις Χα[ρμο]-

σύνοις ἀρετῆς

ἔνεκεν καὶ σω-

φροσύνης· τὴν δὲ

10 ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς

ἀναγορεύσεως

τοῦ στεφάνου ποι-

[ε]ῖσθαι τοὺς προσ-
 [ἐ]δρεύοντας [τῶι ἱ]-
 15 ἐρῶι· τὸ δὲ φήψισ-
 μα ἐσγραφῆναι
 εἰς τελαμῶνα
 λευκοῦ λίθου κα[ὶ]
 ἀνατεθῆναι εἰς τ[ὸ]
 20 ἱερὸν τοῦ Σαρά-
 πιδος.

Between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.

It is difficult to date the inscription more accurately. This dating is by Pippidi, who is one of the best authorities on the epigraphic monuments from Tomi and Histria. Tocilescu and Fraser favour an earlier dating, which is questioned by Y. Todorov. Even if it were assumed that the inscription was from our era, the very fact, as Pippidi points out, that there was a sanctuary (ἱερόν) is a proof that the collegium of Sarapiasts must have existed in the 1st century BC.

This inscription is one of the few testimonies that the feast of Charmosyna was observed outside Egypt, where it was also celebrated during the Ptolemaic period as indicated by Herodotus (III, 27). The sources and literature about this festival are to be found in Vidman, No 324. According to Dunand, Char-mosyna was a part of the great autumn festivities associated with the death and revivification of Osiris, with Isis playing the leading role. As there was, however, a whole series of joyful festivities in honour of the goddess (her nuptials, the birth of Horus-Harpocrates, the resurrection of Osiris), it is difficult to determine which one of them was celebrated under the name of Char-mosyna. Dunand assumes that it was the festival associated with the joy of the goddess and her acolytes at Osiris' resurrection, which must have been observed in the autumn in the Eastern Mediterranean. Aside from the inscription under review, there is only one other testimony in support of the observance of this festival outside Egypt. This is an inscription from Cius (Bithynia) dating from the early Imperial age (Vidman, No 324). Neither of the two inscriptions imparts details about the nature of the festival.

Besides the dating of the inscription, there is another problem, and that is whether this was a private decree of the Sarapiasts or an official one. The former possibility is suggested by Tocilescu and is not rejected by Pippidi, while Fraser, Vidman and Dunand are inclined to accept the latter. The reason for this is the kind of material on which the decree was inscribed: εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου (lines 17-18) and that characterized the official decrees issued in Tomi and the other Pontic cities. On the other hand, the expression of τοῖς καλουμένοις Χαρμοσύνοις on lines 6-7 may be interpreted in the sense that the

name of the festival was not well known to those who dedicated the inscription while the person who financed it, may have introduced it in Tomi for the first time. In such case, it is possible that the decree might have been official.

14. Tomi.

Marble slab. Measurements: height 0.21 m, width 0.55 m, thickness 0.20 m. At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1600.

Tocilescu in *AEM* 19, 1896, 97, No 44; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 227, No 560; Fraser, *o.c.*, 38, n. 2; Pippidi, *o.c.*, 107, n. 30, fig. 2; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 705.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχηι. Διονύσιος Ἡδύλου ἐκ τῶν
[ἰδίων κ]ατεσκευάσεν διὰ τοῦ [ἱ]ε[ρέως τ]οῦ
[Διὸς Ἴσ]ιδώρου τοῦ καὶ Θεα ----- Διὶ τῶι
[μεγάλωι καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Εἵσιδι καὶ
5 [Ἀνού]βιδι καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσιν.

Late Hellenistic age (?).

According to Fraser, the inscription could be from the early Imperial age, which is considered possible by Pippidi as well. The palaeographic particularities of the inscription do not allow for a more accurate dating. Here another circumstance may be quoted in favour of an earlier dating and that, in my observation, is the formula: Σαράπιδι καὶ Εἵσιδι καὶ Ἀνούβιδι in the second part of the text (after the name of the dedicator); this dedication is most characteristic of the Hellenistic period, during which the Egyptian deities were not attributed the epithets and syncretism to be seen in inscriptions of the Imperial age: in *SIRIS* the formula occurs in the same way in over 35 inscriptions, of which only five have been dated with certainty to our era. What is more, these exceptions show a number of particularities which are absent in the inscription from Tomi.

The reconstructing of the inscription as suggested by Pippidi and accepted by Fraser and Vidman, is not the most successful in my opinion. In the first place, I find it almost impossible to accept that: [Διὶ] τῶι [[μεγάλωι] καὶ Σαράπιδι ... could have been written on lines 3-4, i.e. that the dedication could have been to Ζεὺς ὁ μέγας etc. Secondly, the seven letters of μεγάλωι are inserted by Pippidi at the beginning of the fourth line in as much space as was taken in the fifth line by the first four letters of [Ἀνού]βιδι. It is obvious that the letters become flatter and much more spaced on lines 4 and 5 than on lines 1 and 2 where six letters have been fitted into the same space.

If the second name of the high priest on line 3 was Θεα[γένου], then the proposed addition takes up the space of five of the possible 13 letters to the end of the line; taking into consideration the spacing between the words, then the dedication [ἐπὶ τῶι] | [ᾠρωι] can be fitted here and at the beginning of line

4. In the Greek interpretation, Horus-Harpocrates was fused with Apollo (see Vidman, No 114 from Amphipolis, Nos 116 with the commentary and 117 from Philippi, No 496). It is not impossible in my opinion that in the Milesian colony of Tomi Apollo in his Egyptian hypostasis should come before the other Egyptian deities. Thus for example the name of Apollo goes before that of Sarapis in an inscription from Caria (see Vidman, No 283).⁹ The expression διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ [[Διὸς Ἰσ]ιδώρου at the end of the second line and the beginning of the third could be substituted by another and more suitable one from the point of view of epoch, region and cult. In order to avoid the name of Zeus at the beginning of the line, it could be surmised that the high priest's name was Artemidoros, a name that was extensively used along the Pontic littoral; it could then be assumed that the person at the end of the second line was not necessarily a high priest, but that he was possibly a ἱεραφόρος (cf. Vidman, *SIRIS*, Nos 52, 62, 109, 313).

After the above indicated corrections, the text could be read as follows:

[Ἀγαθῇ τύ]χηι. Διονύσιος Ἡδύλου ἐκ τῶν
[ἰδίων κ]ατεσκεύασεν διὰ τοῦ ἱε[ραφόρ]ου
[Ἀρτεμ]ιδώρου τοῦ καὶ Θεα[-----τῶι]
[᾽Ωρωι]καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Εἵσιδι καὶ
[᾽Ανού]βιδι καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσιν.

15. Tomi.

Inscription now lost.

Pippidi, *o.c.*, 106, n. 22; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 706.

Σαράπιδ[ι-----]
ος Πολυδῶ[ρου]
κατὰ ὄναρ
Σινωπεύς.

Ca 100 BC (according to Pippidi).

Pippidi assumes that this inscription was the earliest evidence of the Sarapis cult in Tomi. In reality, this is the earliest dated proof because, as has already been pointed out, I, 13 and 14 could also be dated to the same time. The dedicator was a native of Sinope and a foreigner to the town, and knew the practice of incubation, which was widespread in the Greek world during the Hellenistic period κατὰ ὄναρ (line 3). This inscription, as well as I, 14, evince the links between the Bithynian and the Thracian coastal areas as far as the Egyptian cults were concerned.

16. Tomi.

Fragment of a marble slab. Measurements: height 0.22 m, width 0.13 m, thickness 0.06 m. Now lost (?).

Cagnat, *IGRR* I, 621; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 227, No 561; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 707

Τύ[χη ἀγαθῇ].
 Ὑπὲρ θεᾶς Ἀγριπ[πεΐνας.....]
 [--ενος. ἐκτῆπα---]
 [---τικῆς, ἐπιμε[λουμένου---]
 5 [-----Ἀντ]ωνίου Ἀρχ[-----]ιερῶς
 [Σαράπιδ]ος καὶ Ἰσιδ[ος-----]
 [δι]ακειμεν[.....]
 [...πα]τριδα φιλ[.....]
θεοῖς[...]
 10 [...ἐκ]τῶν [ιδίων κατεσκευάσεν].

Middle of the 1st century AD.

The inscription, although not in a good state of preservation, reveals a dedication to the goddess Agrippina, that is to say the deified mother of the Emperor Nero.¹⁰ The connection between the empresses and the Egyptian cults is discussed below (I, B, 5).

17. Tomi.

Marble altar. Lost and then rediscovered in Paris when it was published again (after Cagnat, *IGRR* I, 604) by M. Brillant in *Revue phil.*, 36, 1912, 284-296 (the publication was unavailable for the present study).

Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 228, No 563; Pippidi, *o.c.*, 107 ff.; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 708; Idem, *Isis-Sarapis*, 51.

[Διὶ Ἡλ]ίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπ[ιδι]
 [καὶ τ]οῖς συννάοις θεοῖς κ[αὶ]
 [αὐτ]οκράτορι Τ. Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριαν[ῶ]
 Ἀντωνείῳ Σεβαστῶ εὐσε[β(εῖ)]
 5 καὶ Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Καίσα-
 ρι. Καρπίων Ἀνουβίωνος
 τῶ οἶκῳ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέ-
 ων τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν ιδί-
 ων ἀνέθηκεν ἔτους κγ'
 10 Φαρμουθι α' ἐπὶ ἱερέων
 [Κ]ορνούτου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος
 ---υ---μνου τοῦ καὶ Λονγ[εῖ]-
 νου-----τοῦ Ἀρ----

March 29, 160 (according to lines 9-10).

This is the earliest inscription from the 2nd century for the two provinces and is referred to the joint rule of the Emperor Antoninus Pius and the Caesar Marcus Aurelius. The dedication is to the syncretistic Zeus-Helios-Sarapis and to the ruling emperors, whose links with the Egyptian cults will be discussed later.

Most researchers believe that οἶκος τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων mentioned on line 7, was a professional association. Pippidi links the Alexandrian guilds in the city with the spread of the Egyptian cults; this occurred spontaneously because of the strong emotional impact of the magnificent ceremonies. In this assumption of his, he follows Fraser who believes that the Egyptian cults were not brought to the Balkans because of the influence of the Ptolemies. Dunand, however, assumes that in the Thessalonica inscription (Vidman, No 109) the οἶκος must have been the premise in which the hieraphoroi gathered together for the ritual banquets.¹¹ I am inclined to accept her interpretation of this inscription from Tomi as well, for an actual guild is epigraphically attested here (οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων, i.e. that of the sea captains).¹² Therefore, οἶκος τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων could not be assumed to have been a professional organization, but a religious and an ethnic society whose members were Alexandrian merchants and seamen temporarily residing at Tomi. Vidman's view to the effect that the three (or four?) names at the end of the inscription are not high priests, but dignitaries of the collegium of Sarapis worshippers to which the Alexandrian merchants also belonged at that time, may be interpreted, if I am not mistaken, as supporting the above conjecture.

18. Tomi.

Teodorescu, *Monumente*, 8 ff., No 3; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 709; Dunand, *o.c.*, II, 203; III, 224.

[...]φιλ[ον]
 [...]Μενε]χράτους---
 [...]π]αστοφόρων--
 [...]γ]υναῖκα δὲ α[ὐτοῦ]
 5 [...]ι]εροναῦται ἀν[έθηκαν?].
 [...]ἐκ τῶν ιδίων---
 [...]π]ροστατοῦντος [τοῦ]
 [χοινοῦ? Ἀρις]τάρχου---

(First half of) the 3rd century AD.

The reading of Vidman, who corrected the reconstruction of the text by Teodorescu, has been accepted. Vidman assumes that ιεροναῦται (on line 5)

were associated with the office of ναύαρχος from the inscription (I, 54) from Byzantium on the festival of Isis (τὰ μεγάλα Πλοιαφέσια, Navigium Isidis). Dunand accepts this interpretation, adding the surmise that the nauarch or the trierarch were the organizers of the ceremony, while the hieronauts, who are known from our inscription only, were sailors; they assisted in the steering of the boat, which was the first to be launched at the opening of the sailing season.

The collegium of παστοφόροι (line 3) is attested in Apuleius (*Met.* XI, 30 ff.). If one may judge by their designation, their task was to carry the likenesses of the gods during processions. According to Vidman, the pastophoroi were high priests of Isis (see Vidman, No 433 and the whole literature on the collegium). Dunand notes the two specialized cult collegia in Tomi and assumes that in the 3rd century the pastophoroi played a more important role in the cult than their predecessors in Egypt. The above quoted text of Apuleius has helped her to come to this conclusion.

The προστατῶν mentioned in the inscription is also attested in two inscriptions from Thessalonica (Vidman, Nos 110, 111, προστατής). In that particular case, the person was associated with a collegium, but in our inscription the link may only be surmised.

19. Tomi.

Small marble bust of Isis, 0.23 m high.

At the National Historical Museum in Bucharest, No 18720.

Tocilescu, *Fouilles*, 235, No 6, fig. 117; Bordenache, *Sculture*, 86, No 170, Pl. LXXIV.

The goddess is dressed in her customary garb—a himation with the knot of Isis (*nodus isiacus*) on the breast. Her hair is arranged in spiral-shaped, Libyan ringlets. Two small horns, a crescent and a lotus bud are depicted on her head. According to the stylistic analysis of Bordenache, the bust should be dated to the age of the Flavians.

20. Tomi.

Plate VI

Marble bust of a high priestess (?) of Isis. Measurements: height 0.78 m, diameter of the plinth 0.20 m.

At the museum in Constanța, No 2002.

Canarache et al., *o.c.*, 136, No 8, fig. 9; Bordenache, *Contributi*, 175 ff., fig. 20-21; Dunand, *o.c.*, II, 203 ff.

The garment and the hair do follow the iconographic type of the goddess' representation in I, 19. A crescent is depicted on her head and there is a trace of an additionally placed lotus flower (a *uraeus* or solar disc) now lost. According to Bordenache, the portrayal of the face precludes the possibility

that the bust was that of the goddess. She believes that it was a representation of a high priestess of Isis or, to judge by the comparatively large size of the bust, it was rather a fusion of the goddess with a deified empress (Tranquilina?).¹³ Bordenache dates the bust to ca 240-250 AD.

21. Tomi.

Sham stone door with the likenesses of Isis, Harpocrates, Aphrodite and Eros. Pieced together from many fragments. Measurements: height 1.28 m, width 0.76 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 500.

Bordenache, *Sculture*, No 310, Pl. CXXXVII-CXXXIX, in which all earlier publications have been quoted.

This is the only known representation of a door from Moesia Inferior with a symbolic meaning. It was found together with a coin in a grave from the reign of Constantine, and this is a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the slab.

The images are arranged in four rectangular panels. In the top left panel is the likeness of Isis and above her, that of Harpocrates. Isis is clad in the conventional himation with a knot on the breast; in each of her raised hands she holds a *sistrum*; on her head is a *uraeus* or a lotus flower, none too clearly visible. Harpocrates is shown in the nude. In the bottom left panel is a picture of the Egyptian landscape associated with Isis: a palm tree with exotic birds perched on it; next to the tree is an ibis pecking at a snake, likewise a symbolic Nile motif. In the top right panel are depicted Venus pudica and above her, Eros. According to Bordenache, in the right-hand side of the bottom panel is a likeness of Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides. In her opinion, the slab is unique for Late Antique art in its form, ideological conception and style suggestive of the syncretism of late paganism.

22. Histria.

Fragment of a marble slab. Measurements: height 0.20 m, width 0.24 m, thickness 0.07 m.

At the museum of Histria, No 378.

Pippidi, *o.c.*, 108 ff., fig. 3; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 709 a; Dunand, *o.c.*, II, 68-69.

[᾽Εδοξε τῇ β]ουλῇ[ι καὶ τῶι δῇ]-
 [μωι· ἐπι]μηνιεύον[τος---]
 ---ου τοῦ Κρατε[---᾽Ηρακ]-
 [λεῖ?]δης Μονίμου εἴπ[εν· ἀπο]-
 5 σταλῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ [δήμου εἰς]
 Καλχηδὸνα ἄνδρ[ας τρεῖς?]

[ο]ἱ χρησμὸν λήψοντ[αι παρὰ]
 [το]ῦ Θεοῦ τῇ πόλει ὑ[πὲρ τοῦ]
 [Σα]ράπιος· τίνα [K----

3rd century BC.

So far this is the only epigraphic monument of the Egyptian cults in Histria. The beginning of a decree has been preserved on sending theoroi to Calchedon to consult Apollo's oracle there on the adoption of a new cult, that of Sarapis. According to Pippidi, the cult was to be adopted officially and the event was closely linked with the suppression of the Celtic kingdom in Thracia (218 BC). Fraser's view about the peaceful expansion of the cult is shared by Pippidi, Vidman and Dunand. The lack of other epigraphic evidence and the almost complete absence of archaeological monuments provide sufficient grounds for the surmise that the theoroi returned to Histria with a negative answer from Apollo's oracle.

* * *

23. Provenance unknown, **Moesia Inferior** (?).

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 127.

CIL III 6226 = 7593 (Desjardins); Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 227, No 559; Vidman, *SIRIS*, 711.

[---]Sarapid[i---]
 [---decreto? vi]canor(um) p[osuit ?---]

Vidman has restored the text after an inscription from the province of Germania Superior (see Vidman, No 714). The reconstruction of the text is convincing, but I have doubts as to the presence of an official cult outside the urban centres of the province; this has led me to believe that the monument, discovered in a villa not far from Bucharest, may have been brought by a Rumanian from somewhere beyond the confines of Moesia Inferior.

24. Provenance unknown (**Tomi, Durostorum** ?). From the collection of Papasoglu. According to Petolescu in *ST.cl.* 15, 1973, 159, the relief is from Sucidava (Dacia).

Fragment of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.082 m, length 0.105 m, thickness 0.01 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 768.

Bordenache, *Sculture*, 87, No 171, Pl. LXXV.

So far this is the only relief of the Egyptian deities Isis, Sarapis and Harpocrates to have come to light in Moesia Inferior. On it may be seen the lower parts of the seated figures of Isis and Sarapis, as well as the whole figure of

Harpocrates depicted conventionally in the nude, holding the horn of plenty in his left hand, while the right one is raised in a characteristic gesture to his mouth; there is a lotus flower on his head. Proceeding from its stylistic particularities, Bordenache dates the tablet to the middle or second half of the 3rd century AD.

25. Provenance unknown (Tomi ?), from the collection of Oteleşanu.

Marble head of Sarapis, 0.195 m high.

At the National Historical Museum in Bucharest, No 18700.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 83, No 165, Pl. LXXI; Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 281, n. 1.

The head is in a good state of preservation; only two of the four locks on the forehead and the kalathos are missing. Bordenache has looked for the link between this head and the original statue by Bryaxis in keeping with the typology of L. Castiglione. On the basis of a stylistic analysis, she dates this work of art to the age of the Antonines. According to W. Hornbostel, the head is referred to the Fransentyp and belongs to the age of the Severi.

26. Montana - formerly Koutlovitsa, today Mihailovgrad = III, 1.

Limestone altar, now lost.

Numini Sara[p]i Q. Cessicius

--- lianus ex voto posuit

This is how Domaszewski in *CIL* III 7448, Gerov, *Romanizmut*, II, No. 33, and L. Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 701, read the text. But Dobrouski in *MSb* 16-17, 1900, 79, who has seen the inscription, has corrected the reading. His reading was accepted by Y. Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 223, No 528, and has also been accepted in the present study:

Numini Sabazio Cessicius

[--- Iu]lianus ex vo-

to posuit

27. Histria.

Head of Sarapis (?) from a statuette, 0.08 m high.

At the archaeological museum in Constanţa, No 21.203.

28. Tomi.

Marble bust of Sarapis (?), height 0.23 m.

At the National Historical Museum in Bucharest, No 18730.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 85, No 168, Pl. LXXIII.

In Bordenache's opinion the image is ambiguous from an iconographic and plastic point of view, being quite close to Sarapis from the Anastoletyp. The manner of low sculpting makes of this bust a relief rather than a sculpture in the round. In my opinion, however, there are no serious considerations for referring this rather conventional representation of a deity to the Sarapis images. As to style, it may be dated to the 3rd century AD.

29. Provenance unknown.

Plate VII

Terracotta shaped like a mummiform sarcophagus, plain at the back and 0.12 m high.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 2291.

T. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, G. Toncheva, *Antichni terakoti v Bulgaria*, Sofia 1971, No 109.

The terracotta represents Osiris wearing a high head-dress. His arms are folded on the chest, and in his hands he holds a crook and (probably) a flail. Hieroglyphs are inscribed on the front of his long garment. According to the writers, the terracotta was imported from Egypt in Imperial times.

30. Provenance unknown.

Plate VII

Terracotta of Osiris, slightly damaged, 0.125 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 453.

T. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, G. Toncheva, *o.c.*, No 110.

Osiris with a head-dress (*uraeus* ?). His face is oval-shaped and he has a pointed beard; his arms are folded on the chest and in his hands he holds a crook and flail. Hieroglyphs are inscribed on the front of his garment just as in I, 29. The terracotta was imported from Egypt during the Imperial period.

31. Tomi.

Marble altar with a representation of Osiris (?). Measurements: height 0.92 m, length 0.42 m, width 0.32 m.

At the National Historical Museum in Bucharest, No. 14.764.

Pârvan in *AA* 1914, 438, fig. 9; Bordenache, *o.c.*, 87, No 172, Pl. LXXV.

On the upper cornice of the altar are traces of an inscription: ...ΟΣΤΟ. The altar is decorated with *acroteria* between which is the representation of an eagle with outspread wings. In the central field, delineated by a profiled frame, is a small human figure enveloped in a long mantle. Bordenache rejects the view of V. Pârvan that this was a herma. According to her, it was a Roman copy of an Egyptian bas-relief most probably of Osiris and unique among the cult sculptures of the province.

32. Bozveliisko (formerly Kadikoy) on the territory of Marcianopolis.

Bronze foot of Sarapis (?). Measurements: length 0.185 m, height 0.075 m.
At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 6169.

Reinach in *RA* 1897, II, 237.

The foot is shod in a sandal with a high sole on which, according to Reinach, there was an unidentified representation. If this description refers to the bronze vessel of the described shape in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia (No 6169), then the representation must have been on the now missing stopper (?). Judging by the finds of this type, the representation should also have included a bust of Sarapis. In his study of these relics, L. Castiglione¹⁴ points out that in the religious thinking of early societies, feet were of the same significance as heads or hands. To the feet of the deities were attributed strength, fertility and magic powers. According to the same author, the preponderant number of Sarapis feet are right ones and are dated to the 2nd century AD, to which period our relic may also be referred.

33. Odessos - Varna

Plate VIII

Oblong marble base, intricately profiled. Measurements: height 0.06 m, length 0.32 m, width 0.08 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 5434.

Mirchev in *INM Varna* 18, 1967, 35, No 8, fig. 17.

There are two irregular grooves on the upper surface of the base; in the writer's opinion, a sculptural composition of Asklepios and Hygieia (described in the same publication) may be fitted into one of the grooves and in the other, a statuette of Sarapis. The latter surmise has been made on the basis of the numerous coins from Odessos with representations of Gordian III and Sarapis, as well as on the basis of a coin featuring the same god in a tetrastyle temple; the writer also points to the association of Sarapis and Asklepios as healer-gods.

In actual fact, no epigraphic or archaeological information has come to light in Odessos to show the spread of the worship of Egyptian deities in Imperial times. As far as the coins bearing representations of Gordian III and Sarapis are concerned, I think that the opinion of B. Pick who identifies the deity with the Great God of Odessos to be better founded (see below p. 52 and note 114).

THRACIA

(I, 34-59)

34. *Serdica* - Sofia.

Plate VIII

Fragments of a limestone *tympanum* with an inscription and a Medusa in the centre. Measurements: height 1.17 m, length 1.30 m, thickness 0.60 m.

In the Doctors' Garden on Oborishte Street in Sofia.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1926; B. Gerov, *Prouchvaniya*, part III, 228, No 38; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 134.

[Δ]ι Καπε[τωλίω 'Ηλ]-

[ι]ω Σεράπιδι, [ήγεμονεύ]-

[οντ]ος 'Απ(πίου) *vacat* Κλ(αυδίου) [Μαρτιάλου],

[ἐπὶ συναρχίας] α' ἄρχοντος Φλ(αβίου) [Πομπηίου Μοντάνου?],

[ἐπιμελ]ηθέντος τοῦ ἔργου Πω[λίωνος?].

161-163 AD

The dating of the inscription has been made possible by the name of the *propraetor* Appius Claudius Martialis, who was Imperial legate in Thracia during one of these years, according to A. Stein.¹⁵ The inscription was found at the foundations of a building which architect S. Bobchev, and after him, T. Gerassimov indicated as having been a Serapeion. Their opinion is shared by all contemporary Bulgarian researchers.¹⁶ My view is that the inscription was made subsequently on the *tympanum* as that was a rather unusual place for an official text to have been placed. This and some other considerations to which I will return later, in my interpretations, make me believe that the inscription was cut subsequently on an older building. It was of the Roman-Corinthian type and was partially destroyed in the 3rd century and rebuilt by the end of the same century when in all probability the peristyle was added.

35. Unidentified settlement near the presentday village of Gorna Gradeshnitsa in the locality of Hilyadnitsa, province **Macedonia**.

Plate IX

Marble slab with Egyptian cult representations. Measurements: height 0.40 m, length 0.78 m, thickness 0.15 m. The slab is slightly damaged on the outside of the pictorial field which is 0.65 m long and 0.30 m wide.

At the school in Kresna (formerly Pirin railway station).

Iliev in *MPK* 1971, vol. 1, 5, fig. 1.

The pictorial field is circumscribed by a narrow, profiled frame. The imprints of two right feet are depicted in the centre. Their size is different: 0.29 and 0.27 m. On either side of the imprints is a *sistrum*, the musical instrument inherent to the rites of Isis. Obviously unacquainted with this aspect of the Isis cult, the writer states that the slab was an offering by a married couple

to Asklepios after the healing of an ailment of the legs, while the sistrums were of cult significance. It is quite true that representations of bodily parts were dedicated in antiquity to the healer deities, among which was Isis in syncretism with Hygieia (in Athens, Delos and elsewhere). Here, however, the sistrums change the nature of the monument associated with the imprints of feet. Moreover, the combination of the two kinds of representations undeniably refers this relic to the Egyptian cults. The depiction of feet on monuments assigned to the Egyptian religious sphere has been the object of much research. According to one of the latest aspects of their interpretation supported by Vidman,¹⁷ these representations were imprints of the feet of worshippers who had come to the temple to make an offering to the gods. The other interpretation is put forward by L. Castiglione who sees in these representations a symbolic manifestation of the god—the worshippers and the high priests left these offerings in the temples in remembrance of the god's mercy to them or in order to make sure that they should receive it.¹⁸

The above mentioned research of L. Castiglione on the Egyptian monuments is of particular importance in the elucidation of this problem. He points out (on the basis of information supplied by Herodotus, II, 91) that the representation of a foot of the god or king (god's personification on earth) in Egyptian religious symbolism meant the beneficial effect of the divine manifestation on the crops and on abundance in general. As I already pointed out (see under I, 32), the early religions assigned magical properties and power to the divine feet. It could be that here too a symbolic meaning was attached to them similarly to the representations of the hands in the monuments to Dolichenus, Sabazios and other deities. The practice of depicting feet is referred by Castiglione to the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt and Nubia, but he believes that this idea went back to the New Kingdom.

In the Egyptian representations, there is no more than a single foot and, more often than not, of a larger size than the human. Castiglione quite correctly points to the latter feature as a mark of divinity in keeping with the principles of Egyptian art. Outside Egypt these representations are most often of nearly the same size as the human. They are to be met with in the Serapeia on the island of Delos (first half of the 2nd century BC), at Thessalonica (1st century BC to 1st century AD), in Italy, Gaul and Rhaetia, and in different variants at that. There are representations of a single foot, of two right feet of the same or different size, of a pair or even two pairs of different size (e.g. in Maroneia, see I, 52).¹⁹ It is rather obvious that this Egyptian cult practice was not always clear to the non-Egyptian worshippers. What is more, most of the representations here are definitely linked, according to their text, with the cult of Isis and her foot²⁰ or have been set up on divine behest (Vidman, No 61 from Orchomenos). These observations suggest the idea which in actual fact merges together the two interpretations: the ancient Egyptian practice of

representing the divine foot was developed further during the Hellenistic period, very probably under the influence of the alienation which characterized the epoch and the search for security and reliance on the gods; it is quite possible that the second foot or the second pair of feet should have been those of the worshipper who wanted to stress his intimacy with the god in these, very likely, votive reliefs.

The other representation on the relief, i.e. the *sistrum*, was the most typical symbol of the Isis iconography (see under I, 4) and was depicted in the hands of the goddess or in those of her priestesses. However, the *sistrum* also appears on tombstones of women (priestesses?).²¹ The combination of a *sistrum* with the representation of feet is also known to us from the tombstone of, in all likelihood, a Roman citizen and a freed slave woman (Vidman, No 449) and also from a votive monument from Cisalpine Gaul (Vidman, No 645), in which the *sistrum* is to be seen between the two feet.

Consequently, the relic under discussion here could be funeral, votive or could even be evidence of a temple²² (according to Vidman, in connection with his above mentioned view). But before stating my opinion on this relic, I would like first to examine the next one, which is very close to it in its characteristics.

36. Provenance unknown. Unidentified settlement near today's village of Gorna Gradeshnitsa, province Macedonia. Plate IX

Fragment of a slab with Egyptian cult representations. Measurements: height 0.30 m, length 0.35 m. I owe the information and photo to K. Kurliev, who was working on his diploma under my direction and to whom I express my gratitude.

The pictorial field carries the imprint of a foot, to the right of which is the head-dress of Isis, the horns of Hathor and feathers. It is highly probable that there was a representation of another foot to the other side of the head-dress as well, just like in monuments from contiguous areas and in I, 35. Here the most characteristic symbol of Isis has replaced her *sistrum* from the preceding monument. On the tombstone from Thasos (Vidman, No 21), one may see among the accessories of the goddess' cult—the *situla*, the *sistrum*—also the head-dress. The *uraeus* appears between two feet on a votive offering from Rhaetia (Vidman, No 646). And so, the representations on the slab under consideration, as well as on the preceding one, could have appeared on either tombstones or votive offerings. Obviously these relics of ours are rather votive in character (especially the former one) as no names of deceased are mentioned.

Here quite naturally arises the question of the presence of these votive offerings in the ancient Thracian region, which the Romans incorporated into the province of Macedonia.²³ In it there is no other evidence of the spread of

the Egyptian cults, while the Thracian Bendis, fused with Artemis in the monuments, continued to reign supreme during the Roman period as well. The locality of Hilyadnitsa, where the two relics were found, is described by B. Gerov as an anonymous urban settlement and a military centre. Its population was made up of Roman veterans, Thracians and probably Greeks, if one is to go by the epigraphic monuments which are dated to between the mid-2nd and mid-3rd centuries. The ex-soldiers have Roman names and it is wellnigh impossible to tell their ethnic origin.²⁴

The fact that the settlement was an administrative part of the province of Macedonia goes to explain up to a point the discovery of these monuments, a rare occurrence in the cult practices of the province, as it is quite possible to assume a population movement from the Macedonian centres of the Egyptian cults, i.e. Philippi and Thessalonica, where other similar relics have come to light (Vidman, Nos 111 a-d). Therefore, it is not impossible that these reliefs should have been set up by persons of Macedonian descent. They were not solely offered at Egyptian temples or sanctuaries, the presence of which seems quite unlikely here. It is much more likely in my opinion that these reliefs should have been set up at one of the nearby sanctuaries of the local Bendis-Artemis.²⁵ As is known, the fusion between Artemis and Isis was an early phenomenon in the Aegean. It is evinced as early as the first half of the 2nd century BC on Delos. A dedicator of probable Thracian descent, Βῖθος Ἀθην[οκλέους], appears there. He set up an inscription to Artemis Phosphoros at one of the Serapeia earlier than 166 BC.²⁶ I should also like to draw attention to an inscription from Berroia (Macedonia) dedicated to Isis Lochia (Vidman, No 107). Lochia was the epithet of Artemis assisting women in childbirth.

All that has been said so far gives me ground to refer the reliefs to between the mid-2nd and mid-3rd centuries AD. In my opinion, they are votive monuments dedicated by worshippers of Isis (most probably women) at one of the sanctuaries of Artemis and are one more evidence of the Artemis-Isis fusion, which was widespread in the Balkans.

37. Philippopolis - Plovdiv.

Fragment of a marble slab. Measurements: height 0.18 m, length 0.41 m, thickness 0.21m. According to Mihailov, the fragment has been lost.

Mihailov, *IGB III*¹, 936.

A/ΙΔΙΝΟΙΣ----

O---ΧΡΙΣΑΙΤΟΝ---

ΣΕΡΑΠΙΣΟΙ-----

Mihailov reads on line 3: Σεράπης, οἱ οὐ Σεράπι, σοι ...

38. Morozovo (formerly Chehlare), on the territory of Philippopolis.

Bronze statuette of Isis-Aphrodite (?), 0.148 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 6266.

Kazarov in *AA* 42, 1927, *kol.* 323, No 6, Abb. 5.

The statuette is slightly damaged in its lower part and the left forearm is also missing. The goddess' chiton has the characteristic knot on the breast. The himation falls from the right shoulder and is pulled up to the left arm. The thick wavy hair is gathered in a chignon at the nape and part of it falls down over the back and shoulders. On the head may be seen the horns of Hathor, the sun disc and feathers. The hairdo varies from the conventional one—the so called Lybian ringlets.

According to Kazarov's information, the figurine was found by a spring not far from the Topolnitsa river. The spring is believed by the local population to have healing properties. The writer thinks the figurine has come from a Roman sanctuary. This information makes me assume that it was a representation of Isis-Aphrodite to whom the power of healing was attributed.

39. Pastousha, Plovdiv district (on the territory of Philippopolis). Plates X, XI

Bronze statuette of Fortuna-Isis, 0.09 m high.

At the archaeological museum in Plovdiv, No 389.

Tsonchev in *IAI* 17, 1958, 242, fig. 177; Y. Yuroukova, *Religiozniyat sinkretizm v Trakiya, Miziya i Makedoniya spored monetite ot rimskata epoha* in *IAI* 34, 1974, 41.

This standing goddess is dressed in an ankle-length, short-sleeved chiton and a himation. In her right hand she is holding a rudder and in her left, the horn of plenty. Because of this typical iconography of Tyche (Fortuna), Yuroukova is fully justified in setting Tsonchev right to the effect that this is Fortuna-Isis and not Isis-Fortuna; the only accessories of Isis here are the ornaments on the goddess' head—the lotus, moon (?) disc and feathers set in the hair which is dressed in the shape of a kalathos. Yuroukova also points out that in its design the figurine is reminiscent of Fortuna-Isis on the coins minted in Asia Minor. In this connection I should like to point to the Anatolian terracottas of Isis in which she has the same hairdo and ornaments. According to Dunand,²⁷ these are representations of the so called Isis-Aphrodite. Therefore, the figurine under consideration here may be assumed to combine the triple syncretism of Aphrodite-Fortuna-Isis and be in a group with the 3rd century monuments.

40. Augusta Traiana - Stara Zagora.

Plate XII

Head of a bronze statuette of Isis, 0.045 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 4056.

The goddess has a high hairdo adorned with a disc and feathers. Here again a syncretism between Isis and Aphrodite may be assumed just as in I, 38.

41. Gabare, near Kazanluk (on the territory of Augusta Traiana).

Stone slab with a representation of Sarapis.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 944, unpublished.

42. Mesambria Pontica - Nessebur.

Plate XIII

Marble slab, much damaged at the top. Measurements: height 0.14 m, length 0.085 m, thickness 0.05 m.

At the museum of history in Bourgas, No 1738.

Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 131 a; V. Velkov in *Nessebre I*, Sofia 1969, 190, No 10; Mihailov, *IGB I*³, 322 ter.; Dunand, *o.c.*, II, 66; V. Velkov in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* III, 1294.

---O---

[E]ύέλ[πισ]-

[τος], Ἀπολλ[ώνιος],

5 [Ἰ]θυσ, Λῦδο[ς],

Ἑρμαῖος

Σαράπι,

Ἰσει,

Ἀνούβι

10 Ἀφροδίται

χαριστή[ρι]-

ον.

3rd-2nd century BC (according to Mihailov).

In Vidman's view, which is shared by Velkov, the inscription dates back to the 2nd-1st century BC. The accepted reading is that of Vidman and Mihailov follows it. According to it, the names listed in the inscription have no patronymics, and this suggests that the members of the collegium may have been slaves worshipping Egyptian cults. Dunand thinks that the names point to a probable Anatolian origin of the dedicators. This, as well as the presence of Aphrodite among the Egyptian deities, reveals a Greek aspect of the cult, the presence of Anubis notwithstanding. In this connection, a dedication to Anubis, Isis and Hygieia from Ancyra in Galatia where the presence of the god, associated with funerary practices and attributed the functions of *psychopompos*, is just as unexpected.

Velkov points out that the pilaster which carried the inscription, has little holes at the back for attaching to a wall; it is on the strength of this that he

assumes the inscription to have belonged to a sanctuary, evidence of which was found in another inscription (I, 45) from Mesambria.

The link between Isis and Aphrodite is attested in Greece proper, in the centres of the cults of the healing deities Hygieia and Asklepios. Thus for example, there is epigraphic evidence in Athens (Vidman, No 7 etc.) and particularly in Delos and Epidauros of the existence of a joint sanctuary to Isis and Aphrodite (Ἀφροδι-σιδεῖον, see Vidman under No 38). What is more, the healing functions of Isis may also be conjectured from other relics in Thracia (see I, 38).

43. Mesambria Pontica.

Marble slab formerly built into a house where its first publisher, Danov, spotted it. It was subsequently lost, according to Mihailov, who tried to find it. Measurements: height 0.28 m and length 0.22 m.

Danov in *IAI* 12, 1938, 246; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 131; Mihailov, *IGB* I², 328.

Εὐφα[μ]ίδας Ἐπα[μεί]-
νονος ἀρχιτέκ[των]
Σαράπι[δι καὶ] Ἰσιδι.

2nd-1st century BC (according to Velkov).

From the end of the Hellenistic age according to Danov. Mihailov is not justified in maintaining that Vidman had given the name Ἐπαμείνωντος incorrectly. The name Ἐπαμ(ε)ίων was very popular in Roman Odessos (see Mihailov, *IGB* I², 47, 47 bis, 51).

44. Mesambria Pontica.

Plate XIII

Fragment of a marble slab. Measurements: height 0.09 m, length 0.39 m, thickness 0.09 m.

In the museum of history in Bourgas, No 1445.

Gâlâbov in *Studia D. Dečev*, 224 ff., No 5, fig. 5; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 132; V. Velkov in *Nessebre* I, 1969, 190, No 11; *IGB* I², 329.

[Ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ὁ]πὲρ ἑαυ-
[τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων Σ]αράπιδι<ι>
[εὐχάριστ]ήριον.

From the same period as Nos 41 and 42, according to Vidman, who has indicated in the lemma just the 1st century BC.

45. Mesambria Pontica.

Plates XIV, XV

V. Velkov in *Klio* 52, 1970, 468 ff.; J. and L. Robert in *Bull.ép.* 1971 no 431; Velkov in *Hommages Vermaseren* III, 1294.

12 [-----]τὸν δὲ ταμίαν ἀναγρά-
 [φαντα τὸ φάφισμα τοῦ]το εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λ[ι]-
 [θου ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερ]ὸν τοῦ Σαράπιος.

2nd-1st century BC.

Velkov underscores the significance of the Serapeion as an archive of documents on events of importance to the city. If that were so and taking into consideration the fact that it was from Mesambria that the greatest number of epigraphic evidence on the Egyptian cults during the Hellenistic age in the Pontic cities to the south of the Balkan Range have come to light, then it could be assumed that there was a temple here and not a sanctuary. It is obvious that the official character of the cult in Mesambria did not stem from direct Egyptian influence as was the case with Tomi.

46. Anchialus - Pomorie.

Plate XVI

Marble bust of Sarapis, 0.125 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1196.

Reinach in *RA* 1897, II, 225, No 3, fig. 3; Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 281, n. 4.

The bust is placed over a pedestal recalling in its outlines an altar. Incisions are visible on the pedestal and they are faintly reminiscent of a scarab. Underneath are little holes for affixing. Sarapis is shown wearing a kalathos on which three twigs without leaves have been incised. In Hornbostel's opinion, the bust may be referred to the Fransentyp from the age of the Severi.

47. Perinthus - Eregli.

Marble slab. Kalinka has published the inscription according to somebody else's description, giving no measurements or a facsimile.

E. Kalinka in *ÖJh* 23, 1926, AB, kol. 193, No 152; Fraser, *o.c.*, 37, n. 6; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 128; idem, *Isis-Sarapis*, 33.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος
 Ἡραΐσχου
 ἱερητεύων
 Ἰσιδι
 Ἀφροδίτῃ.

The inscription is referred to the 4th-3rd century BC by Kalinka. Researchers today have doubts about such an early dating but still accept it (Fraser and Vidman, for instance) as the inscription is unavailable for personal inspection. I share the arguments of Vidman that this high priest must have been an Egyptian, very much like all the rest of them in the early Greek world, and that he must have been connected with a sanctuary. The fundamental

contradiction to him, I believe, is the early evidence of the cult in the Propon-tis that related, on the one hand, to the Egyptian influence penetrating directly via the trade routes and, on the other, to the Isis-Aphrodite fusion which he links with an analogous phenomenon on Delos at the end of the 2nd century BC. In clarifying the problem of the stage at which the expansion of the Egyptian cults began at Perinthus and of the proper dating of this inscription, one should take into consideration the fact that Perinthus was the only city in Thrace whose coins carry images of Egyptian deities.²⁸ This, I am convinced, is strong evidence that the spread of the Egyptian cults here must have been due to the Lagidians taking possession of the town in 245 BC; to this period are referred the autonomous local coin emissions. Taking also into consideration Dunand's observation that the fusion of Isis and Aphrodite was a characteristic phenomenon in Ptolemaic Egypt, then the dating offered by Kalinka is, in my opinion, rather early and unsupported by other evidence. I find more probable a dating which, on the ground of the considerations listed above, would refer the dedication of the inscription to the second half of the 3rd century BC. It would then be easy to explain both the presence of the high priest and of the sanctuary. This dating would not contradict the date indicated by Vidman for the identification of Arsinoe II (who died in 270 BC) with Aphrodite. What is more, this is one more argument in favour of Ptolemaic influence in the religious life of Perinthus.

48. Panido (near **Rhaedestum**).

Marble slab.

Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 127.

Μενεκλῆς Πύρρου
τὸ ἀνάλεμμα
Σαράπιδι
καὶ Ἰσιδι.

2nd-1st century BC.

According to Vidman, the most probable meaning for ἀνάλεμμα is 'some kind of substruction'; he does not corroborate Salac's view, which he quotes, about a temple over this substruction.

49. Maroneia.

Marble slab with an inscription above which two wreaths have been depicted. Much damaged. Measurements: height 0.235 m, length 0.27 m, maximum thickness 0.09 m. Found on the territory of the ancient city in the presentday locality of Kambana.

In the lapidarium of Maroneia, No 146.

Yves Grandjean, *Une nouvelle aréologie d'Isis à Maronée* (EPRO 49), Leiden 1975, 118, pl. 4.

Ἦδοξεν τοῖς θεραπευταῖς
 τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐπειδὴ Παράμονος Ἀ[τ]-
 τάλου----MENOΣΑ
 [ἀ]ίρεθεῖς [ὑπὸ τ]οῦ δήμου ἱερεὺς
 [Σ]αράπ[ι]δος-----ΟΣ-- ΤΕΙ
 ΤΟΙΓΡΟ

2nd century BC (earlier than No 50, according to the publisher).

This public decree of Sarapis' therapeutai makes known that their organization had existed in the city as early as the 2nd century BC and that it was associated with the priesthood of the Egyptian deities;²⁹ as is to be seen from the inscription, the priesthood was officially recognized.

50. Maroneia.

Pyramid-shaped marble slab, slightly damaged. Measurements: maximum height 0.53 m, width 0.48 m (0.46 m at the top), thickness 0.09 m. Accidentally discovered in the locality of Kambana.

In the museum at Komotene, No 963.

Grandjean, *o.c.*, 16 et passim, Pl. I-III.

ΑΥΤΗΣ

[ἐλ]άμβανον γὰρ

ΝΘΕΩΡΗΣΕΙΝΟΙΑΝ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος

[τῆς σῆς εὐε]ργεσίας οἱ λόγοι τῶν ἐπαίνων μὴ ἐλλίπωσιν· ΗΙΔΕ

5 [...]ρωτα τὸ μὲν ἐγκωμίου, τὸ δὲ προσώπου θεῶι κείμενον

[...ἀν]θρώπων· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων, Ἴσι, ταῖς εὐχαῖς

[ἐπήχ]ουσας, ἐλθὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέραν εὐχὴν·

[κα]ὶ γὰρ τὸ σὸν ἐγκώμιον τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐστὶ κρείσσον,

[.]ἼΑΝΟΙΣ ἐβλεψα τὸν ἥλιον τούτοις, καὶ τὸν σὸν βλέπω κόσμον·

10 πείθομαι δὲ πάντως σε παρέσεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς καλουμέ-

νη σωτηρίας ἦλθες, πῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τιμῆς οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοις; θαρ-

ρῶν οὖν πορεύομαι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ, γινώσκων ὅτι τὸ ἐγκώμιον,

νοῦς μὲν θεοῦ, χεῖρες δὲ γράφουσιν ἀνθρώπου· καὶ πρῶ-

τον ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἦξω, τῶν ἐγκωμίων ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν

15 τὴν πρώτην σου τοῦ γένους ἀρχὴν· Γῆν φασὶ πάντων μη-

τέρα γενεθῆναι· ταύτη δὲ σὺ θυγάτηρ ἐσπάρης πρώτη·

σύνοικον δ' ἔλαβες Σέραπιν, καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ὕμνων θεμένων γάμον,

τοῖς ὑμετέροις προσώποις ὁ κόσμος ἀνέλαμψεν ἐνομματοισθεῖς

- Ἥλιωι καὶ Σελήνῃ· δύο μὲν οὖν ἐστε, καλεῖσθε δὲ πολλοὶ παρ' ἄν-
 20 θρώποις· μόνους γὰρ ὁ βίος ὑμᾶς θεοὺς οἶδεν· πῶς οὖν τῶν
 ἐγκωμίων οὐ δυσκράτητος ὁ λόγος ὅταν δέῃ τὸν ἔπαινον
 πολλοῖς θεοῖς προναῶσαι; Αὕτη μεθ' Ἑρμοῦ γράμμαθ' εὔρεν
 καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ἅ μὲν ἱερὰ τοῖς μύσταις, ἅ δὲ δημόσια
 τοῖς πᾶσιν· αὕτη τὸ δίκαιον ἔστησεν ἵν' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν,
 25 ὥς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως τὸν θάνατον ἴσον ἔσχεν, καὶ ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἴσων εἰδήι· αὕτη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷς μὲν βάρβαρον, οἷς δ' ἑλλη-
 νίδα διάλεκτον ἔστησεν ἵν' ἡμὶ τὸ γένος διαλλάσων μὴ μό-
 νον ἀνδράσιν πρὸς γυναῖκας ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι πρὸς πάντας·
 [σ]ὺ νόμους ἔδωκας, θεσμοὶ δ' ἐκαλοῦντο κατὰ πρώτας· τοι-
 30 [γα]ροῦν αἱ πόλεις εὐστάθησαν, οὐ τὴν βίαν νομικὸν ἀλλὰ
 [τ]ὸν νόμον ἀβίαστον εὐροῦσαι· σὺ τιμᾶσθαι γονεῖς ὑπὸ
 [τ]έκνων ἐποίησας, οὐ μόνον ὡς πατέρων, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ θεῶν
 [φ]ροντίσασα· τοιγαροῦν ἡ χάρις κρείσσων ὅτε τῆς φύσε-
 ως τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ θεὰ νόμον ἔγραψεν· σοὶ πρὸς κατοίκησιν
 35 Αἴγυπτος ἐστέρχθη· σὺ μάλιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτίμησας τὰς
 Ἀθήνας· κεῖθι γὰρ πρῶτον τοὺς καρποὺς ἐξέφηνας· Τριπτόλε-
 μος δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς δράκοντάς σου καταζεύξας ἀρματοφο-
 ρούμενος εἰς πάντας Ἑλλάδας διέδωκε τὸ σπέρμα· τοιγαροῦν
 τῆς μὲν Ἑλλάδος ἰδεῖν σπεύδομεν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δ' Ἀθη-
 40 νῶν Ἑλευσίνα, τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης νομίζοντες τὴν πόλιν, τῆς
 δὲ πόλεως τὸ ἱερὸν κόσμον· ἔγνω τὸν βίον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς
 συνεστηκότα καὶ γυναικός· ἔγνω τερον τὴν γυ-
ναῖκα· πῶς ἔδει τὸ ἦσσαν
 N ἐσφραγισ

I will adduce here only some of the writer's observations which pertain to the problems of the cult during the Hellenistic period. This unfortunately incomplete text contains an aretology of Isis that is quite different from those on similar monuments which have so far come to light and is therefore very valuable. It is an important evidence of the cult's popularity in Maroneia in the 2nd century BC, a popularity which the writer links with the occupation of the city by the Lagidians in the second half of the 3rd century BC, as well as with the expansion of the cult to the contiguous ethno-cultural communities. That the couples Sarapis-Isis and Helios-Selene should have been mentioned in one and the same phrase on lines 16 ff., is in the writer's opinion, an indisputable proof that the fusion between Sarapis and Helios went back to the Hellenistic period.³⁰ The aretology from Maroneia differs from the rest in that the new god appears side by side with Isis though she is the more active element of the two. This is a particularly typical phenomenon for the Greek world from the 2nd century BC onward.

The aretalogy also gives repeated evidence of the fusion between Isis and Demeter, a fusion we know of from Herodotus and one that has often been discussed in specialized historiography in connection with the dating of the fusion between the Egyptian and the Eleusinian mysteries. Grandjean assumes in a rather circumspect manner, on the ground of his study of the text, that the mysteries of Isis had spread in Greece during the 2nd century BC under forms closely resembling the Eleusinian rites.

According to Grandjean, the author of this very early aretalogy of Isis was without doubt a Greek who was well versed in the Eleusinian mysteries and who, by combining Eleusinian and Egyptian subjects, had lent a Hellenic aspect to the Egyptian goddess thus rendering her more comprehensible to his compatriots. At the same time, the text is imbued with the idea of the overwhelming significance of Athens and its Eleusinian holy place. This feeling of national self-esteem Grandjean attributes to Athens' renaissance after the mid-2nd century BC.

51. Maroneia.

Inscription in the museum at Komotene, No 966, unpublished.

Grandjean, *o.c.*, 119.

According to Grandjean's information, this inscription is a fragment of a decree issued by the god's therapeutai in honour of somebody called Σοκλῆς Θεοξενίδου. The decree must have been erected in the sanctuary of Sarapis. The epigraphic evidence refers the inscription to the 1st century BC. It came from the same locality of Kambana and may be linked with I, 49 because of the mention of the therapeutai.

52. Maroneia.

Marble pedestal with two pairs of feet hollowed out in the marble and pointing in the same direction. Measurements: height 0.14-0.145 m, length 0.82 m, approximate width 0.48 m; size of the feet: left pair 0.33 and 0.35 m and right pair 0.40 m. Discovered in the locality of Kambana.

In the museum at Komotene.

Grandjean, *o.c.*, 119-120, Pl. V.

Ἀγωνοθέτης Ἀπολλωνίου Σεράπιδι,
Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, Ἀρφοχράτῃ *vacat* κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

End of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century AD (according to Grandjean).

It is for the first time that the name of Harpocrates appears here in a dedication together with the conventional triad Sarapis-Isis-Anubis in an inscription

from Thrace. It must be that the influence of the popular cult of Harpocrates in Amphipolis and Philippi (see Vidman, Nos 114, 116, 117) should be looked for here. This inscription is very interesting from the epigraphic point of view. Judging by the shape of the letters sigma and epsilon (reversed), as well as by the ligature ΤΕ in ἀγωνοθέτης, the inscription should belong to the period indicated by the writer. The formula κατὰ πρόσταγμα, however, is attested exclusively for the 3rd-2nd century BC (see Vidman, Nos 5, 104, 152, 247, 296, 354) in inscriptions from the Greek islands, Thessaly and Ephesus, i.e. it is associated with the early expansion of the cult under the influence of the Ptolemies or of the trade links with Rhodes. On the other hand, the above mentioned triad is a phenomenon that is almost exclusively characteristic of the Hellenistic period (see under I, 14). The presence of Harpocrates in it is attested in the Aegean as early as the 2nd century BC (see Vidman, No 5 from Athens and the three inscriptions from Delos CE 72, 144, 159 in Vidman),³¹ but is rarely met with in the Roman period (Vidman, No 254 from Samos and No 257 from Chios). Therefore, Grandjean is not very convincing in his argument that the dedication to the four deities was 'current' during the period he has indicated. These observations make me have doubts about the precision with which Grandjean indicates the period (the reign of Septimius Severus) and prompt me to suggest a considerably earlier era. About the representations of feet, see under I, 35.

53. Abdera.

Plate XVI

Altar. Measurements: height 0.34 m, width 0.30 m, thickness 0.22 m.

At the museum in Kavalla, Inv. no Ω 784.

Ch. Koukouli in *Arch.Delt.* 24, 1969, 356.

The photo which Ch. Chrisantaki was kind enough to send me, shows comparatively clearly only the text of:

Εἴσιδι καὶ Σαρά-
πιδι ΛΙΙΙΣ·Υ-
ΦΜΑΜ----

* * *

54. Mesambria Pontica (?), Perinthus (?).

Marble slab. Measurements: height 0.37 m, width 0.33 m, thickness 0.11 m.

At the Warsaw museum (formerly in the museum of Istanbul).

Wiegand in *AM* 36, 1911, 287 ff., No 2; Robert in *Hellenica* 10, 1955, 24 f.; idem in *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, Pl. XVIII 1, cf. p. 578; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 130.

Ἰσιδι καὶ Σαράπιδι
 βασιλεύοντος Ῥοιμε-
 τάλκου, μεραρχοῦν-
 τος δὲ Ἀρτεμιδώ-
 5 ρου τοῦ Φι<λ>οστρά-
 του, ἔτους λβ', Ἀρτε-
 μίδωρος Συνίστο-
 ρος υἱὸς ναυαρχή-
 σας τὰ μεγάλα Πλ<οι>-
 10 ἀφέσια τὸν τελα-
 μῶνα ἀνέθηκεν.

First half of the 1st century AD.

There are quite a few unclarified points about this monument and it is doubtful that they would be definitively resolved because of the lack of proper identification.

The first problem is the unknown provenance of the inscription. As Robert has already pointed out, it lacks the characteristics of the Dorian dialect (which was customarily used in inscriptions from Byzantium and the other Megarian colonies), just as it does those of the koine. The only reliable linguistic indication is the expression τὸν τελαμῶνα ἀνέθηκεν. The word τελαμῶν shows that the inscription had its origins in the Propontic or Pontic cities. It is to be met with in inscriptions from Byzantium, where Robert places this inscription, and also in epigraphic monuments from Tomi and Mesambria. Taking a lead from Wiegand, Robert corroborates his assumption by the meaning implied in μεράρχης or district chief which he links with the domination of Rhoimetalkas I over Byzantium and Calchedon (evinced by these cities' coin issues). But μεράρχης has another meaning too, and that is commander of a big military unit;³² on the other hand, the epigraphic monuments from Byzantium we know of, provide scanty proof of the spread of the Egyptian cults in contrast to Mesambria, for instance, which was also within the territory over which Rhoimetalkas I held sway. If one is to go by the four inscriptions dealt with previously, the worship of the Egyptian deities was quite extensive there. According to the latest inscription, which was not known in Robert's time, the cult was officially recognized there in all likelihood as early as the 2nd century BC and the word τελαμῶν was used in it.

The next problem is the dating of the inscription. According to Wiegand, the period on line 5 indicated by the figure 32 is according to the era of Actium, and so the inscription should have been set up in 1-2 AD. Robert considers the possibility of the figure 32 signifying the year in which Rhoimetalkas I was crowned; it is accepted that he reigned between 16 BC (which is not at all certain) and 14 AD. The latter year is hardly accurate

either, since it is known that after the death of Rhoimetalkas, Augustus (who died in 14) bestowed on his son Kotys the territories to the south of the Balkan Range and very probably the Pontic cities as well,³³ which the latter had inherited from his father Rhoimetalkas. So, if we accept that these two dates marked the beginning and the end of Rhoimetalkas' reign, then the number of years in between is smaller than 32; consequently, Robert's assumption is far from certain. Even more uncertain in my opinion is the dedication of this inscription to the Egyptian deities and their festival in the age of Augustus by a political friend of his, such as Rhoimetalkas was, in view of the persecution of the Egyptian cults during the sovereignty of Augustus. It is known that these cults, which were introduced in Rome by the triumviri, were regarded by Augustus as gods of his enemies, i.e. of Mark Antony.³⁴

Actually there were two other kings of the same name after Rhoimetalkas I. The first was an issue of Rhoimetalkas' brother Rhaskuporis and the former's daughter. He was Rhoimetalkas II and as such was first a dynast and then, according to the inscription, was invested with the title of king³⁵ some time around 26 AD. The second was Rhoimetalkas III, grandson of Rhoimetalkas I and son of Kotys, who was killed in 19 AD. He came to the throne while still under age, very probably in this same year of 19 AD. He and his brothers were educated in Rome and it was to their connections with the Imperial court and especially with Caligula that they owed their thrones in Thracia (Rhoimetalkas III), Pontus and Cilicia (Polemon II), Armenia Minor (Kotys), the Bosporan kingdom (Queen Gepepiris).³⁶ It is not unlikely, therefore, that this inscription, quite surprisingly dedicated by a functionary of a Thracian king, should date back to the reign of Rhoimetalkas III. For it is known that Caligula was the first to upset the religious policy of Augustus; in his megalomania he went so far as to take part in the rites of Isis and set aside premises in his palace for the worship of the Egyptian deities.³⁷

If the inscription actually dates back to the reign of Rhoimetalkas III, which seems highly probable, then the figure 32 could just as well signify the number of years in which the Greek Ἀρτεμίδωρος τοῦ Φιλοστράτου of the inscription was μεράρχης. However, very little is known about the subordinate territories of these last kings, as well as about the cities' status and their administration. It is quite unnecessary to advance hypotheses in this connection, but nevertheless it is important to draw attention here to the fact that one of the last coin issues from Perinthus associated with the Egyptian cults during the Hellenistic period, is assigned to the reign of the Emperor Claudius.³⁸

Vidman has quoted almost the entire literature on the meaning of ναυαρχήσας, but his own opinion is to be seen from his monograph,³⁹ in which he has set forth his well-substantiated assumption; in his view, the nauarchia was not associated with the priesthood of the Egyptian cults, but was most

probably a kind of public duty. Τὰ μεγάλα Πλοιαφέσια was the Greek name for the festival of Navigium Isidis, here evinced only epigraphically. This festival marked the opening of the sailing season in the spring, for Isis was regarded as the protectress of seafarers.

And so in view of the above mentioned observations on the inscription, the latter should best be assigned to the reign of Rhoimetalkas III, i.e. between 37 AD (the beginning of Caligula's rule) and 45 AD (the annexation of Rhoimetalkas' Thracian kingdom, which was incorporated into the Roman province of Thracia). The inscription is linked with the festival on the occasion of opening the sailing season under the auspices of Isis at one of the cities along the Thracian littoral of the Propontis or the Pontus, most likely Perinthus, but also very likely Mesambria.

55. Mesambria Pontica.

Plate XVII

Head of a terracotta statuette of Zeus-Sarapis (?), 0.05 m high.

At the archaeological museum in Nessebur, No 450.

V. Vell ov in *Hommages Vermaseren* III, 1294 f., Taf. CCLIX.

According to V. Velkov, the god is rendered in the conventional Hellenistic iconographic manner as a middle-aged, bearded man wearing a kalathos. The writer points to a parallel from the northern Black Sea littoral, but does not reject the possibility of the statuette having been made in the town itself in view of the expansion of the cult in the 2nd-1st century BC. The identification is, in my opinion, rather uncertain since his interpretation of the hair on the forehead and the beard, as well as the expression of the face are very different from the typical representations of the god. The head could belong just as much to a statuette of Sarapis as to any other chthonian deity. In Velkov's view, the terracotta was made in the 2nd-1st century BC.

56. Provenance unknown.

Plate XVIII

Bronze bust of Sarapis, 0.05 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 5121. According to the museum's inventory book, the bust came from Istanbul and was purchased from the Nelidov collection in Paris in 1911.

Unpublished

The bust is rendered in the manner which characterizes the bust (I, 46) from Anchialus. The kalathos is ornamented with three leafless twigs and is hollow so that it could be mounted. On the ground of the stylistic particularities it shares in common with I, 46, it could be referred to the Fransentyp from the age of the Severi; that is the view of Hornbostel.

57. Serdica = II, 103.

Marble slab restored from 23 fragments. Measurements: height 0.47 m, length 0.59 m, thickness 0.025 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 80.

I. Velkov in *IAI* I, 1921-1922, 21 ff., Pl. IV; Théodoridès in *Byzantinoslavica* 19/1, 1958, 73 f.; Dunand, *o.c.*, III, 226; M. Vaklinova, D. Ovcharov, *Rannovizantiiski pametnitsi ot Bulgaria*, Sofia 1978, 33, fig. 77; *IGB* IV, 1921.

It is I. Velkov's opinion that a representation of Sarapis is rendered on a small column of the left-hand side of the slab. This identification is not rejected by the authors of the above quoted publications. In actual fact, the representation is that of a female deity, which could be described as the Great Mother of Gods. About the relief and its description, see the monument of the same goddess under II, 103.

58. Provenance unknown (Southern Thrace, today part of Turkey).

Bronze tablet. Measurements: height 0.65 m, length 0.095 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3849.

I. Velkov, *Novootkriti starini* in *IAI* VII, 1932/33, 414 ff., fig. 172.

Two joined *aediculae* are represented on the tablet. Each *aedicula* has two columns with bases and Ionic capitals and a pediment with *acroteria*. In the left-hand side *aedicula* is a likeness of Cybele (see II, 130).

In the right-hand side *aedicula* is a seated figure dressed in a chiton and himation. The himation is pulled up under the raised right arm holding an unidentified object. The figure is in the same pose and is dressed exactly like Cybele, but for the chiton which is rendered in a slightly different manner; this is what probably gave Velkov ground to describe it as a male deity (Sarapis). The figure's right hand rests on a throne with a high back, which is ornamented above right with a crescent (according to Velkov, the deity is holding a sceptre with this ornament). On its head, the figure has a kalathos or a diadem (the representation is very indistinct). To the left of this figure is another one which Velkov defines as Anubis. Even if this tablet had been a matrix, which in recent opinion it was, the combination of Cybele, who has been identified with certainty, and Sarapis is highly unlikely. A monument of unknown (probably Thracian) (II, 131) origin offers a rather close parallel, as well as the possibility of assuming that the right-hand side *aedicula* featured the Mother Goddess.

B. Interpretation

1. Historiography

The spread of the Egyptian cults in the Thracian lands during the Hellenistic period and at the time of Roman domination has not so far been the object of independent study by historiographers either in Bulgaria or abroad. Y. Todorov was the first to devote space to the subject in his monograph mentioning a number of monuments that had been published in Rumania; he did not, however, include a full list of all those housed in the Sofia Archaeological Museum.⁴⁰ The list offered by Kazarov in the *Real Encyclopädie*⁴¹ is also incomplete. The research into the problem by our historiography amounts to no more than the publication of individual monuments, which are indicated further below. Similar is the state of affairs in Rumanian historiography, in which D. Pippidi was the first to devote a study to the relics of the Egyptian cults in Scythia Minor (the area indicated by him, however, does not coincide with the period which his paper reviews).⁴²

There are a number of West European historiographic studies which also include our monuments.⁴³ The thesis expounded by them in the 19th century and up to the monograph of M. Nilsson in connection with the Balkans, was that the Ptolemies vigorously encouraged the expansion of the Egyptian cults in the territories under their control. Some writers have even gone so far as to maintain that Sarapis was a deity created by Ptolemy Soter I with the express intention of exporting it from Egypt.⁴⁴ The bias of this theory was first pinpointed by Roussel in his remarkable study on the Egyptian cults on the island of Delos⁴⁵ and further explained by A. D. Nock, P. M. Fraser and others.⁴⁶ On the ground of an almost complete list of the known inscriptions, Fraser showed that during the Hellenistic period the worship of the Egyptian cults along the Aegean and Pontic littorals of Thrace was not propagated through the influence or purposeful propaganda of the Ptolemies; he maintains that there is information from the Pontic coastal area on the existence of a public cult in Tomi, without bringing out the significance of the inscription (I, 9) from Dionysopolis, of which he knew.⁴⁷ In the paper of D. Pippidi cited above, the writer follows Fraser with regard to his conclusions about the spread of the Egyptian cults; the novel aspect here is the political and economic characterization of the Pontic cities of Histria, Tomi and Callatis, as well as the decree (I, 22) from Histria. According to Pippidi, the penetration of the Egyptian cults in these cities was not the result of direct Egyptian influence, but of the presence there of Alexandrian merchants and the intermediary role of the island of Rhodes.

L. Vidman's⁴⁸ collection of inscriptions (exc. Egypt) is of special importance for the study of the diffusion of the Egyptian cults in the various provinces of the Roman Empire, as well as during the Hellenistic period. In my

opinion, this precise and detailed study is most useful in the research into the Egyptian cults during the Graeco-Roman period because, for a number of reasons to be discussed later, the inscriptions are the basic and most reliable source of information. The commentaries in *SIRIS* include the most important literature on the various religious concepts, while the thematic indices add to the usefulness of this collection; this usefulness would have been much enhanced if a prosopographic index of the worshippers had been supplemented. The importance of the collection became immediately manifest both from the subsequent research by L. Vidman into the cults' characteristics and their history⁴⁹ (regrettably, for the most part those in the Western Roman provinces) and also from a number of new general or specialized studies.

As far as the Thracian monuments which are discussed here are concerned, I would like to point to the research in three volumes by F. Dunand,⁵⁰ in which they are examined and interpreted. Unfortunately, however, in the summing up of the Isis cult in Thracia, made to fit the pattern in Macedonia and Greece proper, there have appeared conjectures which do not fully correspond to the situation as suggested by the monuments we know of. In my opinion, this is due above all to an overrating of the evidence of the coin issues for the whole of the area examined by the author. And secondly, I would point to her insufficient knowledge of our monuments (in spite of the fact that Vidman's *SIRIS* was known to Dunand and that the paper of Pippidi appeared several years before her study). This has had a reflection on her assumption about the prevalent role of the older cult of Isis, to which that of Sarapis⁵¹ was associated in the 2nd century BC, even supplanting it in some cases. This summing up, as will become apparent further on in the interpretation of the monuments, although valid for Greece proper, is not applicable to the situation such as it was in the Thracian lands. Fr. Dunand is justified, in my opinion, in taking into consideration both the fact that very soon the Greeks replaced the Egyptians as propagators of the cults, and also the specific role of the political links which existed between the Greek cities and the Ptolemies. I draw attention to these points only⁵² in order to make known my view which is also relevant to other studies on the religious concepts in the Balkans in Antiquity. As long as there is an absence of concrete investigation, the ethnocultural characterization of the Balkans in West European historiography will continue to carry the imprint of the Hellenocentrism inherited from the 19th century.

2. *The Sources About the Cults*

The most important sources available to us about the nature and diffusion of the Egyptian cults in the Thracian lands are the epigraphic monuments and the archaeological evidence. The latter, although the more numerous, does not contribute anything more than the epigraphic data. The coins which are

customarily adduced as testimony to the spread of the Egyptian cults in the individual cities, also have their definitive value. The absence of an independent study on the coin issues of the cities in the two provinces, as well as the excessive information, which some researchers draw from them on the cults' diffusion, has made me devote more space to them in the present study.

Here I would like first of all to dwell on the data provided by the literary sources which, although scanty, have a significant value for the study of the Egyptian cults in the area under review; having escaped the attention of Bulgarian researchers, they do not figure in the description of ancient Thracian religion in our present day historiography on the subject.

The oldest information is to be found in Polybius; in describing the strait of the Pontus Euxinus, then called the Thracian Bosphorus (today the Bosphorus), Polybius mentions that there was a sanctuary on the Asian shore of the Pontus at which, according to the myth, Jason sacrificed to the twelve gods. This spot was at a distance of 12 stadia (2,200 m)⁵³ from Europe where a temple of Sarapis stood in Thrace. In ancient days the region surrounding Byzantium was called the Thracian delta and if one is to go by Polybius' description of the entrance to the Bosphorus from the Propontis, the Serapeion could hardly have been within the confines of Byzantion. In the absence of any other evidence, Polybius' text may be regarded as proof positive solely of the existence of a Serapeion in Thracia Pontica in the 2nd century BC. It could be linked with the Warsaw Museum inscription (I, 54) the origin of which is difficult to establish. This is an attractive hypothesis but, at least for the present, impossible to substantiate.

Another information about the spread of the Isis cult among the Thracians is to be found in one of the four hymns of Isidoros, inscribed subsequently on the pilasters in the temple of Isis-Ermouthis and Sokonopis (the crocodile god) nearby present day Madinet Madi (Egypt) after the 22nd year of the reign of Ptolemy Soter II (9 BC) and before 80 BC.⁵⁴ It has been assumed with a great deal of certainty that Isidoros was a high priest of Egyptian descent. One of the main subjects of his hymns was the universality of Isis, familiar to all people who revered her under various names. To the Greeks she was either Hera or Aphrodite, or Hestia, Rhea, Demeter; to the Syrians she was Astarte or Artemis; in Lycia she was Leto; *to the Thracian men she was the Mother of Gods*.⁵⁵ It becomes evident from this text that, according to its author, the Thracians were not to be included among the barbarians. The possible premise for such a view was, in Vogliano's opinion, the dominions of the Ptolemies in Thrace and the indication of Cumont that an élite Thracian cavalry unit⁵⁶ served under them. The first part of the premise is not too exact because, by the time of Isidoros, the Egyptian occupation of part of the Thracian littoral was a thing of the past (it could generally be referred to the second half of the 3rd century BC). The second part of the premise warrants attention

and will be taken up further on. The reason for the identifications of Isis, listed by Isidoros, is customarily looked for in his desire to represent the highest goddess of the nations he mentions as an incarnation of Isis.⁵⁷

Another main theme which explains in part his assertion that Isis was identified with the Mother of Gods in the Thracians' belief was the pre-eminence of Isis as the initiator of world order and the giver of life to men and all living things, as the benefactress of people during their lifetime and protectress of the power and wealth of rulers.⁵⁸ Taking into consideration the latest studies on Bendis,⁵⁹ the Thracian Magna Mater, I am of the opinion that what the learned Egyptian had to say about the Thracians should be accepted in addition to the few of his identifications of Isis which are regarded as plausible.⁶⁰

For the territory of Tomi we have a record that is obviously drawn from life. It is a passage from Ovid, who was banished by Augustus to Tomi. I do not think that it has anything to say to the poet's attitude to Isis' cult as evinced in his *Metamorphoses* and may be used in describing the cult in this Pontic city at the beginning of our era. Ovid writes that he saw before the altar of Isis a man who admitted to having defiled her divinity; another man, who had been deprived of his eyesight by the goddess, pronounced himself deserving of his fate.⁶¹ The confession of one's sins is familiar to us from the cults accompanied by mysteries, as well as from the cult of Magna Mater.

We have still another record, this time from Egypt (dated to the 2nd century AD). It is included in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1380 (101-102)⁶² and is a litany to Isis in which the goddess' identifications, corroborated to one degree or another by other sources, are listed. According to this litany, the Thracians called Isis πολυώνυμος, i.e. the one with many names. In the opinion of the Greek writer of the text,⁶³ this was how she was called in Sinope and on the island of Delos. The goddess was given the same epithet in an inscription from Cius,⁶⁴ a city situated in the same province as Sinope (Pontus and Bithynia). The equivalent epithet of μυριώνυμος is attested in Egypt in Isidoros' hymns (I, 23-24). What is more important is that the latter epithet has been found in inscriptions from Dacia,⁶⁵ in the dedication of a *propraetorian* legate in Moesia Inferior,⁶⁶ in inscriptions from Pannonia,⁶⁷ Gaul, Germany, Cilicia.⁶⁸ All these inscriptions are generally dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD and were found, as can be seen, along the Rhine-Danube limes of the Empire. What is more, part of them show that the composer of the litany was evidently well informed about the Thracians, that is to say about those of them who served in the Roman legions.

It is clear that at least as far as the Thracians were concerned, the authors of the two Egyptian texts show enviable knowledgeability. In my opinion this can be explained by the presence of a large number of attested Thracian settlers who had been allotted land in Ptolemaic Egypt and during the Roman era, especially in the region of Oxyrhynchus.⁶⁹ The syncretism which

developed in the cult of the goddess may be seen quite clearly: whereas during the Hellenistic period the Thracians in Egypt cherished the memory of their own goddess, calling Isis by her name, two or three centuries later, through the Roman legions and, for Thracia, also through the mercenaries⁷⁰ returning from Egypt, the cult of Isis expanded, having undergone a long period of fusion with related goddesses from the Eastern Mediterranean and expressed by the epithet of μυριώνυμος.

3. *Epigraphic Monuments. Names of Deities*

We have 51 conclusive proofs, both epigraphic and archaeological, on the spread of the Egyptian cults in the area under consideration. The epigraphic ones number 25 - 11 from the territory of Moesia Inferior and 14 from Thracia. The Hellenistic inscriptions from the former province number five and from the latter, ten. The ratio changes in the Imperial period—there are six inscriptions from Moesia Inferior and only three that we know of from Thracia.

The inscriptions are mostly dedicatory: I, 14-17, 22, 34, 42-44, 47, 48, 52. There are only a few private or public decrees about individuals or collegia: I, 9, 13, 22, 23, 45, 49, 51, 53. There is also an honorific inscription (I, 12) and an aretalogy on Isis (I, 50). The by far larger number of inscriptions are on slabs: marble (I, 4, 5, 8, 9, 22, 24, 37, 42-44, 45?, 47-50, 54) and stone (I, 1?, 13). The rest are on a marble altar (I, 17), marble pedestal (I, 52), stone capital (I, 7) and a limestone tympanum (I, 34).

The overwhelming number of inscriptions is in Greek; an exception are the three inscriptions from Moesia Inferior I, 1, 7, 23.

The names of the deities in the inscriptions from the two provinces appear in the following forms:

— for Sarapis: genitive Σαράπιδος (I, 16, 49) and Σαράπιος (I, 22, 45), dative Σαράπι (I, 42), Σαράπιδι (I, 14, 15, 17, 43, 48, 54), Sarapidi (I, 1, 23), Σεράπιδι (I, 34, 52), Serapi (I, 7), accusative Σέραπιν (I, 50). Sarapis is the older form. It was used in the course of almost two centuries before the appearance of the form Serapis; also the genitive Σαράπιος is older than Σαράπιδος.⁷¹

— for Isis: the genitive is Ἰσιδος (I, 13, 16), while the dative is Εἰσιδι (I, 14), Ἰσιδι (I, 47-49) or Ἰσει (I, 42).

— for Anubis: two dative forms were used — Ἀνουβί (I, 42) and Ἀνουβιδι (I, 14, 52).

Four inscriptions from Moesia Inferior and five from Thracia (I, 1, 7, 15, 23, 34, 37, 45, 49, 51) are referred to the individual worship of Sarapis; most of them are assigned to the Roman era. Sarapis is also to be found in the inscriptions in syncretism with Jupiter Optimus Maximus and in Thracia only, with Jupiter Capitolinus (I, 34); the syncretism with Helios is to be found only

in the inscriptions from the reign of Marcus Aurelius in Serdica (I, 34), in Tomi (I, 17) and Oescus? (I, 1).

There is just a single dedication to Isis from the Hellenistic period and in it she appears in syncretism with Aphrodite (I, 47).

The joint dedications to Isis and Sarapis come from Thracia and belong to the Hellenistic period (I, 48, 54); again from the Hellenistic period are the dedications to Sarapis-Isis-Anubis from Tomi (I, 14, and 'all other gods') and from Mesambria (I, 42, jointly with Aphrodite). Such dedications occur very rarely in Egypt, but are typical for the Mediterranean.⁷² The same gods, jointly with Horus-Harpocrates are attested solely at Maroneia (I, 52), but may be conjectured in the dedication from Tomi to Zeus-Helios-Sarapis as σύνναοι θεοί (I, 17).⁷³ The worship of Horus-Harpocrates did not enjoy any popularity to speak of in the two provinces. His name is to be met with solely in the inscriptions from Maroneia alongside those of the other Egyptian deities, but it could have figured—this time at the beginning of a dedication—in an inscription from Tomi (see under I, 14) from the Hellenistic period.

An examination of the dedications to the various Egyptian deities would show the untenability of the previously cited assumption about an earlier and overwhelming diffusion of the Isis cult in the Thracian lands. It is plainly to be seen that during the Hellenistic period the prevalent number of dedications is to Sarapis and Isis accompanied by other Egyptian (Anubis, Horus-Harpocrates) or non-Egyptian (Aphrodite, 'all other gods') deities.

The dedications from the area under review do not reveal the characteristic link between the worship of the Egyptian deities and the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies who were described as σύνναοι. But the link between the reigning emperors and the Egyptian cults in one of the two Roman inscriptions from Thracia (I, 34) and in three of the six Moesian inscriptions (I, 1, 16, 17) is beyond doubt; it is possible that this same link may have existed also in the rest of the inscriptions, but they are either inaccurately dated or damaged. The link will be referred to later, in the interpretation of the coins. It is interesting to note that the Egyptian deities mentioned in the inscriptions under consideration, are attributed practically no epithets. An exception is the inscription from Tomi (I, 17), in which a syncretized Zeus-Helios-Sarapis is described as μέγας. This phenomenon in the inscriptions from the two provinces testifies that the Egyptian deities were not acknowledged by the Thracians as high gods, to whom they attributed the epithets of ἐπήκοος, κύριος, σωτήρ etc.⁷⁴

4. *Archaeological Finds. Iconography of the Egyptian Deities*

The archaeological finds which have come to light up to now in the area under review and which are relevant to the worship of the Egyptian deities, are predominantly small sculpted figures. The temples or sanctuaries which are referred to in the inscriptions, have not as yet been identified, nor have any

cult statues been discovered. There is available information on the practising of the Egyptian cults for Dionysopolis and Oescus alone. A fragment of a clay musical instrument with the likeness of the god Re has been discovered at Dionysopolis and dated to the Hellenistic period (I, 11); the only find from the Imperial age is a bronze sistrum from Oescus (I, 4).

The sculptures differ as to type and the material out of which they were made. Among them are: busts sculpted in marble (I, 19, 25), bronze (I, 2, 46, 56) and stone (I, 3?); bronze statuettes (I, 6, 38-40); marble, stone and bronze reliefs (I, 5, 8, 21, 24, 41, 58); and terracottas (I, 10, 29, 30, 55).

The busts and statuettes are mainly of Sarapis and Isis, but there are also some of the goddess' high priestesses (I, 3?, 20). The reliefs feature exclusively representations of gods. Among them is the only relief for the area under discussion to carry the images of Isis, Sarapis and Harpocrates (I, 24 from Tomi). The reliefs have been set up on monuments serving different purposes—on a votive tablet (I, 24), tomb (I, 21), sundial (I, 8), matrix for fashioning likenesses out of metal foil (I, 58); a distinctive type of relics relevant to the worship of the Egyptian deities are the representations of feet (I, 54, cf. 35, 36) which were either votive or funerary.

The representations of Sarapis follow in the main the Zeus-Sarapis iconography which was typical of the Imperial age—a middle-aged man with moustaches, a beard and hair, wearing a kalathos decorated with three leafless twigs (I, 25, 46, 56); they belong to the *Fransentyp* as defined by Hornbostel. Helios-Sarapis has the same characteristic features supplemented by a wreath of sun rays in the hair (I, 2); these monuments are referred to the age of the Severi.

Isis is represented in her *interpretatio Graeca* only in a single monument (I, 19)⁷⁵ from the age of the Flavians; the rest of her representations show signs of the growing syncretism of her cult during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD—mainly with Aphrodite, Fortuna and Selene (I, 38-40, 9).

The likeness of Horus-Harpocrates is also of the conventional type; he is depicted in the nude with the horn of plenty in his left hand, while his right hand is raised to his lips (I, 21, 24).

Osiris may only be seen on the imported terracottas of the Roman period. He is depicted in the typically Egyptian regal attire, his arms are folded on the chest and in his hands he holds the crook and flail symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt (I, 10, 29, 30).

Anubis is known to us only from a bronze plaque—*matrix* (I, 58). Isolated monuments feature the likenesses of the river god Nile (I, 5) and Re (I, 11).

It is difficult to establish the provenance of the relics. It was already mentioned that the terracottas featuring Osiris were imports; the same may be surmised about the find from Callatis (I, 12) and the bronze busts of Sarapis. The latter surmise is based on the close similarity between the relics unearthed in

the two provinces and the bust (I, 56) purchased in Paris, as well as with finds from other Roman provinces. However, the parallels with our monuments listed in the catalogue have been made solely on the basis of photos or descriptions, and this is a rather precarious way of interpreting them.

The relics examined so far are, more often than not, isolated finds which have been discovered accidentally and not during archaeological investigations; agglomerations are observed first and foremost at Tomi and Oescus. It is only there and at Dionysopolis that they have received epigraphic confirmation of the spread of the Egyptian cults. The resulting uncertainty about the archaeological finds as arguments to be advanced in a historical interpretation is further accentuated by the observation that sculpted figurines of Egyptian deities were fashionable and became collectors' items at least from Hadrian's reign onward,⁷⁶ that is to say, it is impossible to ascertain whether the said representations—be they imported or locally produced—were used in cult rituals, or whether their owners were devotees or simply collectors. For this reason, these relics are rarely discussed in the present volume in the interpretation of individual phenomena related to the history of the diffusion of the Egyptian cults in the Thracian lands.

5. Representations of Egyptian Deities on Coins. Their Interpretation from the Historical Point of View

Coins featuring Egyptian deities or their attributes have been the object of a great deal of research and interpretation in an attempt at determining the chronology and scope of diffusion of their cults in various cities and areas. Quite often they have been used as the only evidence of the cults' adoption or degree of popularity without confirmation from epigraphic or archaeological sources; there have also been cases when too much has been read into the information they provide. No few are those cases in which it has been asserted that a temple or sanctuary stood in one or another city solely on the ground of coins featuring a conventional image of Sarapis. In spite of the fact that there have appeared in recent years numerous specialized studies on the coin issues of individual cities or ethnocultural areas,⁷⁷ making it plain that quite often there is a discrepancy between the quantity and kind of coins minted in a city, on the one hand, and the scope of diffusion of a cult, on the other, there still are no few research papers on the Egyptian cults where this discrepancy is not taken into consideration. The many instances in this respect concerning the Thracian lands will not be quoted here, but it is necessary to point, for example, to the over-interpretation of the information obtainable from the issues of the cities along the Thracian Pontic littoral that has given ground to assume the diffusion there of the Egyptian cults in Roman times;⁷⁸ a cursory inspection of Vidman's collection would show that this assumption is epigraphically attested for Tomi alone.

This survey of the coin issues will not discuss them from a numismatic point of view and so there is no need for a table of the coins referred to. They will be looked into as a historical source on the spread of the worship of the Egyptian deities; only certain characteristic aspects of the chronology or several noteworthy phenomena in the issues of the Thracian cities will be dealt with.

It is first of all necessary to mention that, with the exception of Tomi, these issues were not a permanent feature of the coin minting of the cities in the area under discussion; they were by far less numerous than those minted by the cities of Asia Minor. The explanation (which, in my opinion, is not quite without foundation in view of the historical situation there) advanced recently about the great number of Anatolian coin issues is that there was a competition in this field between the various cities and also that Sarapis was very much in fashion in the 2nd-3rd century AD. However, the epigraphic monuments on his cult there are often fewer in percentage by provinces than those from Moesia Inferior and Thracia taken separately. This observation is of particular significance for the following ones as it shows the discrepancy between the epigraphic and numismatic data on the Egyptian cults.

The earliest representations of Egyptian deities are to be seen on the autonomous coin issues minted at Perinthus in the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-204 BC) and are justifiably associated by E. Schoenert with the occupation of a large part of the Thracian coastal area by the Lagidians.⁷⁹ It was for the first time in Hellenistic minting that the jugate portrait of Sarapis and Isis (the head of Sarapis facing right crowned with a laurel wreath and a lotus flower and the head of Isis also facing right and wearing a head-dress and a wreath of wheatears) appeared on the obverse of the coins from Perinthus. The reverse of these coins feature the likenesses of Anubis and Apis.⁸⁰ A lasting predilection for this kind of representation is to be observed in the city's coin minting because it is here at the earliest for the Imperial age that coins featuring the likenesses of the Emperor Claudius and Poppaea Sabina have likewise been discovered. The autonomous issues of Sestos dated to the 2nd century BC feature the head-dress of Isis next to Demeter; the tradition was obviously lacking here because the coins assigned by Drexler to the Imperial age and bearing the likeness of Sarapis are not so certain.⁸¹ These are the two cities on the Propontis and the Hellespont that I know of to have associated their coin issues with the Egyptian deities. The later issues of the Thracian cities do not feature these representations for quite some time (exc. the above mentioned issues of Perinthus, as well as the quasi-autonomous coins from the same city dated to the 2nd century AD), and that is in keeping with the state policy of coin minting in Imperial Rome. The time gap is quite big and, to all appearances, it was at Philippopolis at the earliest that coins featuring a conventional representation of Harpocrates were first struck in the reign of Hadrian.⁸² Then all of a sudden under Marcus Aurelius, the Egyptian

deities reappear on the coins of Serdica,⁸³ Byzie,⁸⁴ and Augusta Traiana (?).⁸⁵ It is important to call to mind here that the two inscriptions about temples of Sarapis in Moesia Inferior and Thracia (I, 1, 33) and the inscription dedicated to Zeus-Helios-Sarapis, the Emperor Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar) from Tomi (I, 17) are referred to the reign of the latter. An interesting fact is that the previously rare representations of Egyptian deities on the coins of the Anatolian cities occur more and more frequently in the reign of Marcus Aurelius; it was probably then (if not earlier) that the quasi-autonomous coins of Perinthus were struck.

Under Marcus Aurelius' son Commodus, the Egyptian deities make their appearance also on coins from Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis.⁸⁶ Before discussing the coin issues of the age of the Severi, the great number of which is easily explained by the well publicized predilection of the emperors of that dynasty for the Oriental cults, I would like to make a brief retrospective survey of some data about the religious policy of the principes preceding the Severi. This survey will render clearer both the absence of those coin issues that are of interest to us from the cities in the two provinces which minted coins in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and also the presence of representations of temples on coin issues under Marcus Aurelius. The latter phenomenon is quite unexpected especially for the period preceding the plague epidemic in the Empire; the belief of the Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius in providence and in the concrete manifestations of the gods are well known from his letter written in 140 AD to his preceptor Fronto, but the letter mentions just Asklepios, Athena and the Capitoline triad; just as in the rest of the propaganda media so in his coin issues as well, Marcus Aurelius invoked in prayer the protector deities of Rome and the emperors—Jupiter, Heracles and the gods of war (during his military campaigns); the only exception was the Egyptian-style temple represented on coins after the miracle with the Legio Fulminata.⁸⁷

I already had the occasion of previously pointing out that the Egyptian cults, introduced by the *triumviri* in Rome, were banished by Augustus beyond the city's confines as enemies of Rome, because of his political antagonist Mark Antony. A characteristic feature of Augustus' ideological propaganda was the return to the age-old Roman deities. But alongside the official propaganda of the Princeps, who insisted that he should be regarded as no more than *primus inter pares*, quite a few cities in the Eastern provinces deified him—not in all probability without his knowledge or consent—and raised temples to the goddess Roma and the deified Augustus. The institutionalized hypocrisy of Augustus' regime in religious matters as well, was adhered to (with a few exceptions) by the emperors up to the time of the Severi.

While Tiberius followed strictly the religious policy of Augustus, it was Caligula who became the first emperor to allow the public worship of the

Egyptian deities and take part in the rites;⁸⁸ this has quite justifiably prompted the acceptance of the tradition of this worship as a lasting one in Mark Antony's family, from which Caligula was descended. And this is indirectly corroborated by a Thracian inscription (I, 54) dated to the reign of Rhoimetalkas III who was brought up and educated together with Caligula.

The Emperor Claudius also officially upheld Augustus' position on the Egyptian deities,⁸⁹ but there is an inscription (I, 16) from Tomi about the deified Agrippina, while Perinthus struck coins with the image of Isis or her headdress; the first dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Claudius by a freed slave of the family of the future consul for the year 54 appeared in Rome in 51 (Vidman, No 402).

It is quite possible that the popularity of the Egyptian cults among the upper classes in Rome was one of the reasons for the new, officially implemented religious policy of the Flavians toward the Egyptian deities. It was then that they appeared for the first time on Roman coins (71 AD) and displayed to the world the temple which Domitian had restored on campus Martius.⁹⁰ This event found no echo in the inscriptions or coins of the area under consideration and that is difficult to explain. It could be that this was in line with the political and administrative changes introduced with the organizing of the new Roman province of Thracia (45 AD), changes which, however, did not require interference in the province's religious affairs and usages in keeping with the principles of Roman policy towards the provinces.

The Emperor Hadrian's abiding interest in the Egyptian deities has been the object of detailed research and analysis. This interest was reflected in the coin minting of the Anatolian cities and that, according to the researchers, preceded the establishment or recognition of the worship in those parts; this circumstance, due to the desire of the cities' dignitaries to show loyalty to the current religious and political ideas, had an echo in Thracia only in the Philipopolis mints.

It is accepted in the literature that Antoninus Pius was indifferent to the worship of the Egyptian deities.⁹¹ But there are facts which come to show that there was a difference between the official policy of the emperor and realities in the provinces. The Anatolian cities continued to issue the coins that are of interest to us here, while Isis appeared on the reverse of two medallions of the Elder and the Younger Faustina.⁹² In an inscription from Gerasa (the province of Arabia) there appeared the first dedication to the great Zeus-Helios-Sarapis for the safety of Antoninus Pius and his children, in 142-143 AD under the *propraetorian* legate L. Aemilius Carus (father of the Dacian legate associated with a similar dedication).⁹³ This inscription was followed by the dedications to Isis and Sarapis of two *propraetorian* legates in Dacia not later than 158 AD and usually linked in the literature on the problem to the Gothic invasions of the Danube limes that affected Dacia first of all.⁹⁴ There are, however, a

number of other studies (the latest one being that of B. Gerov) which show in a convincing manner that the Lower Danube limes was not attacked by tribes from beyond the river. Thus the inscriptions from the reign of Antoninus Pius (dated to between 152 and 155) on the building of military fortifications along the northern border of Serdica's territory, on the boundary line of the colony of Deultum, and near Marcianopolis, Augusta Traiana and Byzie, are assumed to refer to internal unrest among the Thracian population and the strengthening of the cities' territorial defense system.⁹⁵

As a matter of fact, it is straightaway to be seen that Sarapis appears on the coins of precisely these cities in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (with the exception of Marcianopolis and Deultum which had no minting at that period). This may be taken to mean that the coins in question could have been of a commemorative nature, i.e. that they could have been cut in appreciation of the Emperor's efforts to provide for the cities' defences. This assumption is supported by the interpretation of the coins minted under the next emperors, about whom more further on. The inscription I, 17 from Tomi is dated to 160 AD, i.e. to the joint rule of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Soon after, that is to say to the early years of Marcus Aurelius' emperorship, are dated the inscriptions from Oescus (?) and Serdica (I, 1, 34), i.e. they predate the whole series of events which 'obliged' in the opinion of modern historiographers the philosopher emperor to turn for help to the Egyptian high priests and wise men—the plague epidemic (which began in 165 AD), the miracle with the Legio Fulminata associated with the assistance rendered by the Egyptian high priest Harnouphis, the sacrificing of lions by the Danube performed by the emperor himself during the Marcomanian war.⁹⁶

The coin issues should, in my opinion, be associated first and foremost with the above indicated absence of official imperial propaganda in the Eastern provinces, where the true ideological and religious intentions of the emperors were translated into reality. This was the practice to which obviously both Antoninus Pius and his spiritual successor Marcus Aurelius adhered. It presupposed a definitive linkage of the Imperial House with the Isis and Sarapis worship, the beginnings of which are to be detected as early as the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, but which found to one degree or another public expression in Hadrian's time. This linkage which had been established as early as the Ptolemaic period, probably stemmed from the cognition and worship of Isis as protectress of the power and wealth of sovereigns; of this we have information from the sources indicated above. There is no room for doubt that the presence of many learned men from Egypt who maintained close contact with the emperors (e.g. Chaeremon of Naucratis or Dionysos of Alexandria in the period between the mid-1st and mid-2nd century AD) contributed to the popularity of the Egyptian cults at the Imperial court. That the Sarapis cult found favour with Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius was

known (if not also shared) by their closest military assistants—the provincial legates with whom are linked both our inscriptions about temples (I, 1, 34) and also a number of inscriptions from the rest of the provinces.⁹⁷ Judging by the rest of the dated inscriptions from the Imperial age dedicated to Egyptian deities outside Egypt (very often explicitly linking these dedications to the House of Marcus Aurelius), it may justifiably be assumed that the peak of the expansion of the Sarapis cult (and that of the other Egyptian deities) is to be referred to the age of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

The Severi introduced a new style of government in the Empire, as well as an ideological and religious propaganda and norms of public behaviour that were totally different from those of the preceding principes. As far as their attitude to the Egyptian cults is concerned, ancient historiography provides quite a few data on the marked predilections of Septimius Severus, for example.⁹⁸ This was no secret to the city administrators in our two provinces and they freely stamped their coins with images of Egyptian deities. Besides Tomi, which alone displayed a noticeable consistency in this respect, similar issues are known to have been minted at Callatis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis (Moesia Inferior) and Pautalia, Augusta Traiana, Hadrianopolis, Anchialus (Thracia).⁹⁹ There is an interesting and rarely occurring coin issue from Anchialus featuring Hades-Sarapis in a tetrastyle temple; this has given ground to Strack to assume the existence of a temple in the city at that period.¹⁰⁰

In connection with the coins minted under Septimius Severus, it is important to mention the trip of the Emperor and his family through the two provinces in 202; it very likely afforded an opportunity to the city administrations to show their loyalty and pay their homage by minting coins with the likenesses of Egyptian deities and by erecting unique inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus¹⁰¹ and Sarapis (I, 18 from Tomi). With respect to coin minting, it was Perinthus that was the most active for it is known that it sided with Septimius Severus in his struggle for power with Pescennius Niger; the support which the city extended to the Emperor was the reason for its economic progress and prosperity during the age of the Severi, in contrast to Byzantium which backed Pescennius Niger. From the time of Septimius Severus and onward, Perinthus struck a series of medallions bearing the images of various deities, among which stand out the unique issues with Sarapis mentioned below.

The high point in the minting of coins that are of interest to us here in the provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thracia is assigned to the reign of Caracalla who, because of his reverence for the cult, was called Philoserapis in an inscription. This was the period during which there appeared the representations of Sarapis in a temple on coins from Tomi, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis (Moesia Inferior),¹⁰² as well as the conventional representa-

tions of Egyptian deities on coins from Serdica, Perinthus, Anchialus, Pautalia, Trajanopolis, Hadrianopolis, Nicopolis ad Nestum (Thracia) and Odessos (Moesia Inferior).¹⁰³

Usually, the coins featuring temples are accepted more or less without reservation as a testimony to the existence of a temple or at least to the spread of the cult in a city. However, a closer scrutiny into or comparison with the available epigraphic and archaeological evidence would more often than not refute such an inference. Thus the temple (I, 34) attested in 161-163 AD in Serdica is not to be seen on the coins from that city; the coins of Anchialus feature a temple in the reign of Septimius Severus but that temple is not to be seen on the coins minted in the reign of Caracalla; it is rather difficult to accept the existence of temples in Marcianopolis and Augusta Traiana where the worship has not been attested either epigraphically or archaeologically (in my opinion, relics I, 40 and 41 provide insufficient evidence). The spread of the worship under the two emperors has no epigraphic confirmation either in Perinthus, Callatis, Pautalia, Odessos, Anchialus, Deultum or Nicopolis ad Nestum; I would not claim the same for Trajanopolis or Hadrianopolis since the epigraphic and other ancient monuments there have not been adequately studied.

The coins featuring Egyptian deities under Caracalla could be linked with his march to the East and his long sojourn in Thracia during which he carried through his successful campaigns against the tribes beyond the Danube.¹⁰⁴ The inscriptions from Caracalla's reign call Sarapis: *deus invictus Sarapis*, *Jupiter sol invictus Sarapis*.¹⁰⁵ It is precisely these inscriptions that provide a new and important corroboration of the assumption offered above on the commemorative nature of the coins featuring Sarapis from the reign of Marcus Aurelius and onward. When one also takes into consideration the fact that the inscriptions refer directly to the reigning emperors and their highest military commanders, it becomes manifestly obvious that Sarapis was looked upon in provincial coin minting as a god who brought success in military matters to the emperors from Antoninus Pius onward. This assumption has its confirmation in the fact that no other god of war—either Dolichenus or Mithras—was represented on Imperial coins (the official media of ideological and political propaganda), though the two were by far more popular than Sarapis as gods who brought victory in war. In all probability, they were thought of as such by the lower ranks, while Sarapis was the god of victory to the emperors in their campaigns in the East. This function was not invented for the god in Roman times. He and the rest of the Egyptian deities were regarded as *νικηφοροι*, that is to say as bringers of victory in the aretology of Sarapis and in other monuments from Delos from the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC; Apollonius, a Delian high priest of Egyptian descent, rendered gratitude to Sarapis the protector for the victory won over the enemies.¹⁰⁶

Under the emperors Elagabalus and Alexander Severus the number of coins stamped with images of Egyptian deities diminishes appreciably. There, however, appeared issues which are of interest from the numismatic point of view. Thus the coins struck at Tomi in the reign of Elagabalus have on their obverse the emperor's likeness, while their reverse comes in three different variants; two of the latter, according to Pick, are not repeated anywhere else.¹⁰⁷ Again in Tomi there appeared in the reign of Alexander Severus an interesting iconographic motif—the reverse presents a bust of Sarapis above an eagle perched on a wreathed pedestal, its head facing right and its wings slightly outspread; the same representation appears on a coin of Gordian III.¹⁰⁸ The motif is of interest from the historical point of view as well, since the representation of a god being borne by an eagle is the starting point in the iconography of imperial deification.¹⁰⁹ The idea underlying this motif stemmed from Anatolian-Syrian concepts, but its adoption in small sculpted figures and reliefs was centred at Alexandria around the middle of the 2nd century AD and after; this motif expresses symbolically the idea of the majesty of Sarapis as ruler of the world.¹¹⁰

Of no less interest is the medallion from Perinthus with a bust of Alexander Severus; the left-hand side of the reverse features Isis Pharia holding a sail in both hands; in the centre is the emperor with a sceptre in his left hand, while his right hand is raised in salutation; to the right is a standing Sarapis crowning the emperor with his right hand and holding a ship's rudder in his left. Schoenert thinks that this medallion was struck to mark Alexander Severus' war on the Persians in 231 AD when he set out from Perinthus for Asia Minor.¹¹¹

The brief rule of Gordian III marked the second all-time high in the minting in Moesia Inferior and Thracia of coins featuring images of Egyptian deities; the number of coins minted then was not much different from that of the preceding period, but from the point of view of iconography the issues this time show greater variety. A survey of the coin issues (including those of Gordian and Tranquilina) would show some particularities. Coins featuring Sarapis in a temple were cut at Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis and also at Odessos and Deultum.¹¹² When compared with similar issues from the reign of Caracalla, it is to be seen that there are none from Tomi (where the cult is evinced also in the first half of the 3rd century) or from Augusta Traiana (which did not mint coins under this emperor). Conventional coins were again stamped at Tomi, Anchialus, Trajanopolis, Hadrianopolis and Sestos, but not at Pautalia. Instead, coin issues appear from Dionysopolis and Mesambria.¹¹³ At the two latter cities these were the first issues of the kind in spite of the fact that there the cult was public in the Hellenistic period, and of that there is epigraphic evidence. Of particular interest are those issues from Dionysopolis and Marcianopolis which feature on the obverse the face-to-face

busts of Gordian and Sarapis;¹¹⁴ the same design appears also on coins minted under Philip the Younger. This design—the only of its kind for the Egyptian deities—offers an opportunity in Hornbostel's opinion of assuming a predilection on the part of the two principes for Sarapis (a predilection that is difficult to substantiate with any degree of certainty) or a reliance on the god under specific political circumstances.¹¹⁵ It is known that in 242 Gordian III made war on the Persians; on his way through Moesia and Thracia he attacked and chased beyond the Danube the Goths who had penetrated as far down south as Macedonia. It is with these events that the obviously commemorative issues featuring Sarapis and Gordian III on the obverse or those portraying Sarapis in a temple may be linked. They were struck in the Moesia Inferior cities which lay nearest to the barbarian incursion into the limes (in proximity to the Danube delta)—Dionysopolis, Marcianopolis, Odessos, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Deultum.¹¹⁶

In the reign of Gordian III a medallion was struck at Perinthus and it is unique in numismatics. The reverse displays a blazing altar; to the left is a standing Sarapis holding in his raised right hand a wreath and in his left, a sceptre; to the right of the altar is depicted Concordia (Homonoia) who is holding in her left hand the horn of plenty from which issues a long branch.¹¹⁷

With the passage from the scene of the Severi and Gordian, the political significance of the Egyptian cults in the Empire waned. A proof of this is the dwindling number of coin issues with their likenesses in the cities under review here. It is true that Sarapis appears again on the obverse, together with Philip the Younger, in the issues of Marcianopolis (just like under Gordian), of Tomi and Mesambria, but on the reverse—only in Callatis, Deultum and Byzie;¹¹⁸ here of course one should bear in mind the fact that coin minting was suspended in a number of cities and yet Odessos, Augusta Traiana, Serdica, Perinthus and Philippopolis continued to do so up to the time of Gallienus including.

The appearance of Sarapis with Philip the Younger on the obverse of coins from Marcianopolis, Tomi and Mesambria may be linked to the victory over the Carps. They invaded the Dobroudja and in 248 invested Marcianopolis, pillaged Odessos and reached as far down south as presentday Bourgas.¹¹⁹ It is obvious that these issues indicate the territories which received the blows of the invaders.

Under the Emperor Gallienus, the image of Sarapis appears only on the coins of Perinthus.¹²⁰

The representations on the coins from the cities in the two provinces are eloquent of the significance of Sarapis when compared to that of the other Egyptian deities. Alongside the above indicated rarely occurring iconographic types, there are the conventional ones—just the head, bust or full figure (with a kalathos, the right hand raised aloft and the left, holding a sceptre) and also

the one as Hades-Sarapis (seated on a throne, wearing a kalathos and holding a sceptre in his right hand, while his left hand is depicted above the three-headed Cerberus); it is interesting to note that Hades-Sarapis in a temple appears only on issues from Anchialus and Nicopolis ad Istrum.¹²¹

Isis is less often to be seen, predominantly on coins featuring empresses and minted at the coastal cities of Tomi, Callatis and Anchialus, but also at Byzie, Serdica and Philippopolis. It is the goddess' head with a head-dress that is usually depicted, but she is also represented standing with a *sistrum* and a *situla* or, more rarely, as Pharia (on coins from Anchialus, Perinthus and Philippopolis) holding a sail in both hands.

The jugate portrait of Sarapis and Isis appears only on the autonomous coin issues of Perinthus from the end of the 3rd century BC, and for the first time at that as a type of coin from among the extant Hellenistic issues. This jugate portrait of the two deities appears again on the quasi-autonomous issues of the same city dated to the 2nd century AD; its iconography evolved on the coins of the Anatolian cities between the reign of Antoninus Pius and that of Trebonianus Gallus.¹²²

Harpocrates was given a conventional treatment at the Thracian cities of Serdica, Philippopolis, Pautalia (with a star on his head), Augusta Traiana, Deultum, Perinthus, Byzie.

Anubis and Apis are known to us only from the autonomous and quasi-autonomous coin issues of Perinthus.

Medallions of an obviously commemorative nature featuring Egyptian deities were struck at Odessos (under Gordian III), Byzie (under Philip the Arab) and Perinthus (under Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus and Gordian III). The series of medallions from Byzie featuring Hades-Sarapis seated on a throne between Demeter and Isis, next to whom may be seen the miniature figures of Harpocrates and Anubis,¹²³ is of interest from the point of view of the worship's characteristics. They call to mind the link between the Egyptian and Eleusinian deities, a link that may be detected in the coin issues of Sestos and the aretalogy of Isis and Sarapis from Maroneia (I, 50).

This survey of the coin issues featuring representations of Egyptian deities is of particular significance in arriving at inferences regarding the worship's diffusion and scope of influence in the Thracian lands during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In certain respects, it could probably be of use also in the research into the spread of the Egyptian cults in the remaining areas as well.

The survey indicates the continuity in the tradition established in Perinthus under the Ptolemies and retained during the Imperial age in the city's coin issues, some of which are virtually unique. The existence of this same tradition is indisputable for Tomi as well though, as we shall see, it had different roots.

The comparisons made between the different types of coins and also with the epigraphic and archaeological evidence on the spread of the worship have

plainly shown that the coins under review minted in the cities of the two provinces do not give a true picture of the Egyptian cults' diffusion, but were politically motivated and had propaganda value, and that the coins with the likeness of Sarapis on the obverse or featuring the god in a temple cannot be taken as evidence of the existence of temples in the cities which struck such coins, nor can they be used in establishing the scope of the cults' diffusion in the two provinces.

Probably one of the most important inferences from this survey of the coin issues is the well-founded assumption about the concept of Sarapis as a god who protected and brought victory in war to the Roman emperors from Antoninus Pius to Philip the Arab, something that has been confirmed by the epigraphic monuments and is in keeping with Hellenistic traditions.

6. *Spread of the Worship. Chronology and Centres.*

a. In the Hellenistic age

The worship of Egyptian deities during the Hellenistic period is epigraphically attested only for the Thracian littoral of the Aegean, the Propontis and the Pontus—at Maroneia (I, 49-51), Rhaedestum (I, 48), Perinthus (I, 47), Mesambria (I, 42-45), Dionysopolis (I, 11) and Tomi (I, 13-15). The earliest inscription is that from Perinthus which is usually referred in the literature to the 4th-3rd century BC. In the present study it has been dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC, after taking into consideration the establishment of the Ptolemies' political supremacy; in support of this view may be adduced the data obtainable from the city's coin issues. Thus the head-dress of Isis on the autonomous coinage of Perinthus is also typical of the earliest Hellenistic coins from Asia Minor; it appears on the reverse of coins from Halicarnassus, Rhodes and Myndos which were likewise under Egyptian influence and from where it spread to regions untouched by this influence. In the second place should be mentioned the coins minted at Perinthus during the same period and carrying the jugate portrait of Sarapis and Isis on the obverse; such coins appeared here for the first time and are obviously to be associated with similar representations of reigning couples of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Of no less significance is the dedication to Isis-Aphrodite by a high priest in an inscription from Perinthus. The fusion of the two goddesses is also typical of Ptolemaic Egypt, while in the Greek world it came about as late as the end of the 2nd century BC in Delos. Of importance in this connection is the direction of research suggested by Vidman in his interpretation of the Perinthus inscription.¹²⁴ It is quite possible for the high priest who dedicated the inscription, to have been associated with the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies or, more precisely, of Arsinoë II who died in 270 and who was iden-

tified with Isis and Aphrodite. The spread of the Egyptian cults along the Thracian littoral of the Propontis (here I have in mind also the find from Rhaedestum (I, 48) and the information about a Sarapeion in Thrace supplied by Polybius) cannot but be linked to the political presence of the Ptolemies; this presence did not necessarily imply a purposeful propagation of the worship, but it did imply extended trade relations, longer or shorter sojourn by merchants, sailors etc. Perinthus must have been the intermediate trading centre for the produce of ancient Thrace to the south of the Haemus, and this makes me conjecture (also in view of the inscription from Rhaedestum) that the festival of Isis in connection with the opening of the sailing season, attested by the inscription (I, 54) in the Warsaw museum, was celebrated at Perinthus.

The monuments which have come to light at Maroneia and which are referred to the 2nd-1st century BC, may be quite naturally linked with and explained by the Egyptian political presence. However, in contrast to Perinthus where the official recognition of the Egyptian cults may be claimed solely on the ground of the coin issues, here the latter are missing. Instead of this, it is the inscriptions which convey information about an institutionalized worship; it was with the sanctuary and the high priests that the religious society of the *therapeutai* was associated and this argues in favour of the adoption of the worship by the local Greek population and a presumable Delian influence.¹²⁵ As Grandjean's research on the text of the Isis aretology (I, 50) has shown, it was written by a Greek devotee of the cult so as to make it more comprehensible to his fellow-countrymen at Maroneia. The cult's propagation was obviously successful if one is to judge by the available evidence for the succeeding epoch (I, 52).

The worship of the Egyptian deities is attested for Mesambria during the 2nd-1st century BC by the largest number of monuments from the Hellenistic period. In actual fact, three out of the four inscriptions were set up by private individuals, while the fourth (I, 45), as has already been pointed out, testifies to a sanctuary of the Egyptian deities (and not of Sarapis alone, if the link with inscription I, 42 is accepted as certain) and that sanctuary was of explicit importance to public life in the city. Just as at Maroneia, here too there are no coins among the autonomous issues featuring Egyptian deities or the Isis head-dress. The spread of the worship here is usually attributed to Eastern or, more precisely, Anatolian settlers, if one is to go by the names of the dedicators (see under I, 42). There is in my opinion another solution to the problem of the cults' propagators and that most probably is nearer to the truth. In the first place, the mentioning of Aphrodite's name alongside those of the Egyptian deities is a phenomenon to be observed during the same period on Delos and in Athens;¹²⁶ it cannot be assumed here that her presence in the dedication was due to Egyptian influence because the listing of the

names of Sarapis, Isis and Anubis is typical of the worship as practised outside Egypt; what is more, there is no information available so far about direct trade links between Mesambria and Egypt. However, it has been established that Mesambria maintained active trade relations with the city states in Greece proper, Asia Minor etc. In this connection it is important to point to the decree with which the city granted the privileges of proxenia, proedria etc., as well as the right of entry into the port of the ship of a Thessalian in the 3rd century BC.¹²⁷ If the Mesambrians were linked by proxenia with the Thessalians at that period, then it is quite possible that the penetration and spread of the worship should be due to them. The ancientness of the worship of Egyptian deities in Thessaly and neighbouring Boeotia, Locris and Phocis is well known; there the slaves were dedicated to Sarapis in the act of manumission.¹²⁸ This piece of information ties up with our inscription I, 42, the dedicators of which are justifiably assumed to have been slaves. What has so far been said gives me ground to suppose that the spread of the Egyptian cults in Mesambria during the Hellenistic period may also be linked with the influence of the cult centres in Greece proper and on the island of Delos. If one is to judge by the dedications, that island was visited by worshippers from all over the Greek world, as well as from Thrace.¹²⁹

The only epigraphic evidence we have about Dionysopolis has not been confirmed by that city's coinage; it is contained in the honorific decree about the prominent citizen Akornion, who in addition to his official duties as the city's foreign political envoy to the Getae and later to Cneius Pompeius, was also high priest of the Dioskouroi, Dionysos and Sarapis in 49/48 BC. It is difficult to make inferences from this information about the scope of the cults' diffusion in the city or the number of devotees, though it testifies to a public worship. Of little value as evidence, the archaeological find I, 11 of the 3rd-2nd century BC is important in itself as it testifies to a local production of musical instruments for cult purposes and, consequently, to cult practices in the city.

In strictly chronological order, Tomi is the second city on the Pontus where the Egyptian cults became popular in the Hellenistic period. If the upper margin in dating the decree of Sarapiasts (I, 13), i.e. the 1st century BC, should be accepted, then it is evident that there was in that city a sanctuary to the Egyptian deities in the said century, but obviously the cult was of longer standing. An argument in support of this may be found in the inscription from the end of the 2nd century BC of an eponymous priest with the theophoric name of Σαραπίων.¹³⁰ What is more, at the time when the inscription was erected, the cult was already popular enough to include for the first time beyond Egypt's confines the Isis festival of Charmosyna. It was here also that incubation (I, 15) was practised, about which there is repeated evidence in

the inscriptions of the Hellenistic period. Just as in Mesambria here too the coins minted bear no representations of Egyptian deities.

It is quite possible that Tomi, which suffered less from the barbarian invasions in the 2nd century BC, should have retained the advantages of its trade partnership with Egypt; an argument in support of this line of thinking was the attempt made by Histria late in the 3rd century BC to adopt officially the cult of Sarapis by consulting the oracle at Calchedon (I, 22). This was obviously a diplomatic move which brought no results, and not a requirement of a religious nature, as there are no extant data on the spread of the cult in that city.¹³¹

With the exception of an isolated find (I, 12) from the necropolis, there is no other evidence from Callatis either on the spread of the worship in spite of the fact that an Alexandrian, in all likelihood a merchant,¹³² has been epigraphically attested there as early as the 3rd century BC.

The archaeological finds from Odessos are well known and often quoted in the literature; they testify to the import of Egyptian goods into the city¹³³ and are accepted as evidence of its trade links with Egypt. It is to be regretted that we have no testimony on the spread of the worship either during the Hellenistic or the Roman periods in this Pontic colony where systematic archaeological investigations are at an advanced stage in contrast to a number of other West Pontic cities.

According to D. Pippidi, whose observations on the diffusion of the Egyptian cults in Histria, Tomi and Callatis are in line with Fraser's inferences on the question, the trade contacts with Rhodes¹³⁴ must have played a definite role in this diffusion. In actual fact, the island carried on a particularly brisk trade with the West Pontic cities from the end of the 3rd century BC onward. In accordance with a recent research on the finds of amphora seals, the main Rhodian trade partners were Histria, Callatis and Odessos where some 60 per cent of the island's extant amphora seals¹³⁵ has been discovered. As has already been noted, no traces of the cults' diffusion have been found up to now in those cities. However, if one was to look for the reasons of the spread of the Egyptian cults in the West Pontic cities to the intermediacy of their trade partners, it would be much more relevant to assume the influence of Chios and particularly that of Thasos.¹³⁶

The evidence examined so far on the initial penetration of the Egyptian cults in the Thracian lands to the south of the Danube has come to show that it occurred later than in all the rest of the Aegean. This is ascertained not only from dating the relics, but also from the virtual absence of an independent diffusion of the Isis cult that characterized the early stage of penetration of Egyptian religious influence associated with the presence of Egyptian merchants in the big trading centres of the Eastern Mediterranean. It is beyond doubt that the spread of the Egyptian cults along the Thracian littoral of the

Aegean and the Propontis in the 3rd century BC was due to the Ptolemaic political presence there. It was at least a century later that the worship of the Egyptian deities was introduced in Mesambria and Tomi; at Tomi it was most probably motivated by the desire of the local and Egyptian trade partners for durable contacts; those two cities were obviously the export outlets for the Thracian produce from the two regions on either side of the Haemus. The assumed desire of local trade and political leaders is not only to be expected but is also confirmed by the obviously unsuccessful attempt of Histria to introduce the worship of the Egyptian deities (see under I, 22) and, up to a point, by assigning priestly functions in the Sarapis cult to Akornion, the prominent political figure and high priest of the local cults at Dionysopolis (I, 9). The Egyptian aspirations are to be detected in the introduction in Tomi of the magnificent festival of Charmosyna in honour of Isis, a festival that was conducive to the creation of an appropriate religious atmosphere among the local population, as well as to lending prestige to the foreign cult and its worshippers and propagators. The importance of and opportunities offered by the sea ports which the Egyptian merchants picked out along the Thracian littoral, were confirmed when Tomi and Perinthus became the maritime capitals of the Roman provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thracia.

b. In the Roman age

The imposition of Roman power over the Thracian lands and the instituting of the provinces of Moesia and Thracia had a bearing on the diffusion of the Egyptian cults and their public manifestations. The Roman policy of non-interference in the traditional usages and religious affairs of newly conquered territories was applied here too; as far as the Egyptian cults were concerned, there is evidence that the first opportunity that presented itself for their public worship was not missed at the two big cult centres of Tomi and Perinthus. We have an inscription (I, 16) from Tomi on the deified Agrippina with whom is linked one of the first official instances of the adoption by the Julian-Claudian dynasty of the Ptolemaic traditions and their symbolism; this was also true of Perinthus during the same period and that is evinced by the city's coinage (see above I, B 5). An immediately noticeable change is to be observed in the reign of the Flavians and the Antonines. Their active policy of consolidating Roman power in the Thracian provinces and of making them a viable administrative and economic unit of the Empire presupposed the public demonstration of ideological and political loyalty to Rome. In practice this meant the public worship of the Imperial cult or of those patron deities of Rome that were officially recognized by the various emperors. In view of this, the public pageantry of the Egyptian cults was noticeably toned down and it is difficult to trace either the continuity in tradition at the old centres or the ef-

forts of attracting new adherents up to the age of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. It was only then that the Egyptian deities were publicly restored to their former position both in the inscriptions and the coins minted by the cities of the two provinces; what is more, their worship was closely linked to the elevation of Sarapis as a god who protected and brought victory to the emperors from Antoninus Pius onward. The celebrations in honour of Sarapis and Isis and the minting of coins with their images became a proof of allegiance on the part of the provinces and that was in keeping with the ideological and religious platform of the emperors and its publicizing throughout the Empire. The data which have a bearing on ascertaining the centres and scope of diffusion of the worship of the Egyptian deities in the Imperial age are examined in the light of the formulation which has been set out above (see I, B 5) with due consideration for local historical realities.

The available epigraphic and archaeological evidence unmistakably points to Tomi as the centre of worship and religious influence of the Egyptian cults in Moesia Inferior. In contrast to Mesambria, the old Hellenistic tradition was obviously retained here and this is evinced by the two inscriptions (I, 17, 18) from the time of Antoninus Pius and the Severi, as well as by the coin issues in which the Egyptian deities' images are to be traced almost uninterruptedly up to the reign of Philip the Arab inclusively. Sculpted representations of these deities (I, 19-21 and quite likely also I, 24, 25, 31?) have been discovered from the age of the Flavians and up to late Antiquity. Among them are also sculpted images (I, 21, 24) of Harpocrates and these are evinced here alone for the whole of the area under discussion. This continuity in tradition may be reasonably explained by the epigraphically attested presence of Alexandrian merchants and sailors, who had an ethnocultural society of their own in Tomi, as well as a priesthood attached to a temple or shrine (see under I, 17, 18).

Archaeological finds provide evidence for the spread of the worship to Oescus (I, 2-4) as well. The bronze *sistrum* (I, 4) that has come to light there, testifies to actual cult practices and gives me ground to assume that the inscription (I, 1) on the raising of a temple undertaken by a legate of Marcus Aurelius may refer to that particular city, while the cosmopolitan composition of its population which included many Anatolian settlers from among whom the main contingent of worshippers was recruited, is not without its significance either.

The coin issues of Nicopolis ad Istrum and especially of Marcianopolis have given ground to some researchers to date the spread of the worship from the reign of Septimius Severus; they, however, have received no reliable confirmation from either epigraphic or archaeological sources.¹³⁷ Isolated archaeological finds testifying to cult adherents or fashionable trends have come to light at Popovo (I, 6), Durostorum (I, 8), Troesmis (I, 7), Dionysopolis (I, 10) and others (I, 23, 29, 30); some of the finds are Egyptian

imports (I, 10, 29, 30). Their presence in the area may be attributed to men of the military profession from the middle of the 2nd century AD onward.

The population of the province of Thracia viewed with marked reserve both the worship of the Egyptian deities and also some other foreign religious practices. What is more, if the explanation offered here about the finds from the unidentified settlement near the village of Gorna Gradeshnitsa (see I, 35, 36) should prove to be correct, it would then be possible to assume that her worshippers made Isis conform to the Thracian Artemis, or in other words, identified Isis with the Thracian goddess. This identification by the Thracians in Egypt was even more pronounced (see above I, B, 2).

Both the epigraphic and the archaeological information on the worship in Thracia is scanty. From Philippopolis has come a much damaged inscription (I, 37) with the name of Sarapis, and from the city's territory—bronze statuettes (I, 38, 39) of Isis in syncretism with Aphrodite and Fortuna; the latter, as I already had the opportunity of indicating (in connection with this type of relics), are an unreliable testimony to the spread of the worship in the city, on the coins of which representations of Egyptian deities appear as early as Hadrian's reign. Moreover, the coin minting of Augusta Traiana and Anchialus is difficult to corroborate by the isolated archaeological data (I, 40, 41, 46), and the only explanation I find acceptable in this connection is set forth in the previously discussed religious and political propaganda conducted by means of the coin issues, a propaganda that obviously had no relation here to the spread of the worship. From among the Thracian cult relics, a bronze tablet found at an unidentified spot and which features only Anubis (I, 58), is worthy of mention.

A careful approach is needed in resolving the problem of the worship of Egyptian deities in Perinthus. The facts relating to the coin issues undoubtedly create a particular impression and these are: the only instance of attested autonomous coinage in the Thracian cities during the Hellenistic period, quasi-autonomous minting in the reign of Claudius and during the 2nd century AD, the rare type of coins from the Roman era and especially the medallions of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus and Gordian III. But if for the Hellenistic period there is evidence of an epigraphic or historical nature on the worship, for the Roman period not a single epigraphic testimony has come to light so far. I should like to add here that Egyptian representations on coins from Perinthus do not appear, as could be expected from the previous observations, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but in that of Septimius Severus. What is more, except under the emperors mentioned above, such coins as are of interest to us were struck only under Gallienus. Indeed, the above indicated medallions are of particular numismatic value, but they were first and foremost cut to mark an occasion and were politically motivated, and also formed a part of the series of medallions which the city

struck under these emperors. These observations seem to considerably reduce the evidentiary value of the numismatic data obtained from Perinthus. It is interesting to note that just as in Tomi, here too there is epigraphic evidence about the existence of a guild of Alexandrians, probably in Hadrian's reign or a little later; however, in contrast to Tomi, the latter was not associated here with a temple or a religious society.¹³⁸ This gives me ground to assume that the Egyptian cults had lost their significance for the city in the Roman period, while the series of medallions with Egyptian religious subject-matter were made to conform to the ideological and political propaganda of the emperors and especially that of the Severi, with whom Perinthus had thrown in its political lot at the time of the civil war between Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger.

In contrast to the preceding age when Maroneia was an important centre of the worship of Egyptian deities, in the Roman period it had very likely lost its significance, as is evinced by the epigraphic data; only a single dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates (I, 52) has been discovered in the locality of Kambana where a temple stood in the Hellenistic age. The rarely occurring in the two provinces dedication to Harpocrates was in all likelihood due to the influence of Philippi, but also just as probably to the importance of the Apollo cult in that city where the god was identified with Horus-Harpocrates. Of significance here is the absence of coins bearing images of Egyptian deities and that is a unique phenomenon in the two provinces in the age of the Severi, having a parallel at Mesambria alone.

The only inscription from the province to offer definite information on the worship of Sarapis is the one from Serdica (I, 34) dated to 161-163 in the reign of Marcus Aurelius; according to the researchers, it also fixes the site of the city's Sarapeion. The text of the inscription, the site on which it was found and also the unexpected testimony it bears on the worship in the city, tying it up with the religious and political aspects under the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius referred to above, raise a number of questions; their discussion here, and not in the catalogue, is not accidental but presupposes a previous and detailed acquaintance with the monuments and the spread of the worship in the two provinces.

In the first place, the expression [ἐπιμελ]ηθέντος τοῦ ἔργου does not necessarily mean the building of a temple to Capitoline Zeus-Helios-Sarapis; the word ἔργον indeed indicates some kind of cult building¹³⁹ explicitly associated with the Imperial legate. When the circumstance that the inscription was erected on the *tympanum* of the edifice and not, as was customary, on the architrave, is also taken into consideration then one's doubts about the building of a new temple to Helios-Sarapis become quite justifiable; they are further accentuated by the absence of other epigraphic or archaeological evidence about the spread of the Egyptian cults on Serdica's territory.¹⁴⁰ The dating of the in-

scription about which there are no doubts whatsoever, namely to the period preceding the plague epidemic in the Empire, comes to enhance the suspicions about the correct interpretation of the information contained in the inscription. And lastly, the site on which the inscription was found, that is to say to the south-east of the city fortress wall built at the end of Marcus Aurelius' reign (176-180),¹⁴¹ and among the foundations of an older building renders rather doubtful the localization of the temple,¹⁴² the building of which is announced in the inscription; it was obviously impossible for a temple to Capitoline Zeus to have been built on the outskirts which lay beyond the city fortress wall. How the inscription came to be found on that spot and where the temple actually stood is for the archaeologists to ascertain; the history of Serdica's religious life is still awaiting the continuator of Kazarov's work.

Consequently, I am inclined to believe that there had been some sort of building—or reconstruction, extension, etc, of an older temple which had to be hurriedly finished; the time-serving element here is enhanced by the assimilation of Helios-Sarapis to Capitoline Zeus; this assimilation here is unique among the epigraphic evidence of the Sarapis cult. This temple was dedicated to Zeus or, most probably, to Jupiter, though a fusion with other deities venerated at Serdica is not to be ruled out; a temple of this kind could not possibly have been sited on the outskirts of the city. In my view, it is out of the question that this inscription could bear testimony to the spread of the cult in the city; it must indeed have been meant as a token of gratitude on the part of the city for Imperial goodwill expressed in the measures taken to strengthen the city's defences under Antoninus Pius and the granting of coin-minting rights early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

7. Ethnic Origin and Social Status of Dedicators

The extant epigraphic monuments on the worship of Egyptian deities—public dedications and decrees in their greater part, afford no opportunity of establishing the ethnic origin and social status of the dedicators and devotees. Private dedications are few in number and not all names have been preserved. The absence of Thracian names among the dedicators is a basic inference concerning the area under consideration. Most of the names are Greek or, in just a few cases, Romanized. It is, therefore, difficult to decide on this ground alone whether the cults were practised by naturalized Greeks in the Thracian Pontic cities, by settlers from Asia Minor or by Egyptian merchants and seamen.¹⁴³ However, there are indications of Bithynian (I, 15), Anatolian (I, 42) and Alexandrian (I, 17) origin. Many of the Greek names, however, are not attested in the prosopography of the area under review, and that could be taken as an indication of the foreign origin of their bearers. Both the inscriptions as well as other epigraphic relics contain theophoric names: Σεραπίων in

Tomi, Odessos, Mesambria and Marcianopolis;¹⁴⁴ Ἰσίδωρος in Tomi (I, 14) and Perinthus;¹⁴⁵ Ἀνουβίων in Tomi (I, 17); Ἀρποκράτης in Odessos;¹⁴⁶ Ἀρποκρατίων in Perinthus.¹⁴⁷ As has already been pointed out in the literature, they cannot be taken as a sure indication of Alexandrian or Egyptian origin;¹⁴⁸ for the area under discussion here, the former could be assumed because these names were popular in the coastal cities and above all, in Tomi and Perinthus where there were epigraphically attested colonies of Alexandrian citizens.

The social status of the devotees and dedicators is not greatly varied. The preponderance of marble and bronze that went into the making of the monuments, clearly suggests better economic opportunities. Direct information on the dedicators is obtainable from the inscription (I, 43) of a Mesambrian architect and, to some extent, from I, 42 of the same city, where the slave status of the dedicators is assumed. I shall not raise here the question of the officials mentioned in inscriptions I, 34 and 54, who may have been devotees, but may just as well have been performing no more than their official duties.

8. *Cults and Cult Practices*

The interpretation of the epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic sources on the Egyptian cults in the area under consideration has shown that the epigraphic monuments alone offer important information on the history of these cults. Though a considerable part of them have come down to us only partially preserved, they provide evidence which in some cases is rare and even unique if compared to that from the rest of the areas of the cults' diffusion outside their country of origin.

Data about shrines (ἱερόν) during the Hellenistic age is to be found in the inscriptions from Tomi (I, 13) and Mesambria (I, 45). However, the high priests and collegia attested in a number of inscriptions let it be assumed with a great deal of certainty that there were sanctuaries also at Dionysopolis (I, 9), Maroneia (I, 49) and Perinthus (I, 47) during this same period.

In the Imperial age a temple (t[emplum]) in Oescus (?) and Serdica (I, 34, ἔργον) have been attested only epigraphically, but it could be inferred from the inscriptions of the high priests (I, 16-18) that the sanctuary from the Hellenistic age in Tomi continued to be operational. If one is to go by the epigraphic and archaeological relics, it was in that city alone that the religious tradition was preserved.

The high priests (ἱερεῖς) known to us from the two provinces are without exception men (I, 9, 14, 16-18, 47, 49). Information about high priestesses is offered only by the representations in relief from Oescus (I, 3?) and Tomi (I, 22?). The high priests have Greek or theophoric names; it is difficult to pin

down here with certainty their ethnic origin, all the more so that it has recently been claimed that theophoric names cannot be always regarded as an indication of the religious tradition of a family. However, I regard as very plausible the assumption according to which the high priests at the time of the cults' early diffusion were of Egyptian descent. What is more, we also have information about the priestly collegium of the *pastophoroi* (I, 18) during the Roman era when they have been attested pre-eminently in the Empire's western provinces. It is assumed that they were a rung in the priestly hierarchy.¹⁴⁹

Obviously the hieronauts of Tomi, who had a prostas at their head, were associated with the collegium of the *pastophoroi*; the various opinions quoted above are unanimous in that this was a cult and not a priestly organization. Similar was the society of *therapeutai* in Maroneia (I, 49, 51), who assisted the high priests in the various cult festivities and erected inscriptions in their honour. If one is to judge also by the inscriptions of the Imperial period from Athens, Seleucia and Nicomedia, the *nauarch* (ναυαρχήσας) of the Warsaw inscription (I, 54) probably had a duty to perform in connection with the worship without being a high priest.¹⁵⁰

The Chamosyna festival (I, 13) was celebrated in Tomi during the Hellenistic period; outside Egypt it was observed only here and at Sinope. The only epigraphic evidence about the Great Ploiaphesias (which were identified with the festival of Isis at the opening of the sailing season¹⁵¹) also comes from the Thracian lands. The two festivals had their parallels in Bithynia and thus provide one more proof of the link mentioned several times in the catalogue, between the cults in the two ethnoculturally related areas on both sides of the Thracian Bosphorus.

The epigraphic formula *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* (I, 52 from Maroneia) and possibly *κατὰ ὄναρ* as well (I, 15 from Tomi) could suggest that incubation, i.e. the interpretation of dreams, was practised at the sanctuaries, a practice that was widespread throughout the Hellenistic world. The confession of sins to Isis is attested again for Tomi by Ovid. In connection with the here accepted interpretation of the representations of feet on the relic from Maroneia (I, 52, cf. I, 35, 36), it may be assumed that the belief in the epiphany of the Egyptian deities was also widespread.

9. *Syncretism*

The syncretism in the cults of the Egyptian deities is a phenomenon which has been attested in the archaeological and epigraphic relics of the Aegean world as early as the Hellenistic age. In the Thracian lands, its outward manifestations are very similar as to iconography, but in respect to chronology they present a good deal of divergence.

Thus in the inscription (I, 47) from Perinthus, which is the earliest testimony to the spread of the Egyptian cults in the Thracian lands, Isis appears in syncretism with Aphrodite. As I already had the occasion of pointing out, this syncretism is regarded as a typical phenomenon for Egypt of the Ptolemaic age and is the result of fusion with the goddess Hathor, the Egyptian counterpart of the Greek Aphrodite. It is accepted that the syncretism of Isis with Aphrodite was a rare occurrence in Hellenistic Greece, but is to be observed in relics from the island of Delos, at Epidaurus where there was an Aphrodiseion etc., and was linked to the healing functions of the goddess. This syncretism was interpreted by me in the Perinthus inscription as a sign of direct Egyptian influence in view of the historical circumstances obtaining in the Propontis. The link between Aphrodite and the Egyptian deities is also to be seen in the Mesambria inscription (I, 42) whose information likewise offers opportunities of looking for an influence from Greece proper. This syncretism was carried over to the Imperial age as well when, as has already been pointed out, its absence is to be observed only in a bust (I, 19) from Tomi dated to the time of the Flavians; it is to be seen in the bronze statuettes (I, 38-40) from Philippopolis and Augusta Traiana, if only the parallels obtainable from F. Dunand's research should be correct. Moreover, I, 38 was discovered by a spring regarded to this day as having healing properties, and this may be cited in support of the Greek tradition of revering Isis as a goddess with healing functions, and not in her Anatolian aspect of a goddess of love. The association with Aphrodite is to be detected also in the representations on one of the latest monuments (I, 21) of the cult discovered at Tomi.

The syncretism of Isis and Fortuna has been attested in the bronze statuette (I, 39) from the Imperial age discovered on the territory of Philippopolis. It was the result of the concept that Isis was the mistress of human destiny and was particularly typical of the Anatolian monuments of that same age.

I find it difficult to agree with Fr. Dunand's assumption that Isis was fused in the Thracian monuments with the Great Mother of Gods;¹⁵² as far as I know, there is no information about such a fusion in our monuments. It is quite true that, according to the Egyptian sources reviewed above, the Thracians did call her by that appellation. But in all likelihood these were no more than impressions obtained from observations on the Thracians in Egypt itself. What is more, according to the interpretation of the author herself, these sources aimed to show the sublime place which the goddess occupied when compared to similar goddesses of foreign pantheons.

If my interpretation of the relics discovered in the ancient Thracian lands along the middle reaches of the Strouma should be correct (see I, 35, 36), then it is rather a question here of identifying Isis with the local Artemis who was heir to the ancient Thracian cult of Bendis.

The syncretism of Isis and Demeter is to be detected at the earliest in the aretalogy of Maroneia (I, 50), where it obviously was influenced by the fusion with the Eleusinian fertility cult; this fusion was the result of the Egyptian concept of Isis as the bearer of fertility in nature. The same syncretism is to be detected in the representations on the sistrum (I, 4) from Oescus, as well as on the coin issues of Perinthus and Sestos.

The syncretism of Isis and Selene, the moon goddess, is to be likewise discovered in the aretalogy of Maroneia (I, 50). It stems from the belief that Isis was a personification of one of the heavenly bodies—the moon, which brought light to the world after the darkness of barbarity. It is to be seen during the Imperial age in the representations on the sundial (I, 8) from Durostorum.

The earliest testimony from the Thracian lands on the identification of Sarapis with the sun god Helios (Sol) is to be found in the aretalogy from Maroneia (I, 50). As recent research has shown, this phenomenon was of Egyptian origin, but was manifest above all in the monuments of the Imperial age from the reign of Hadrian onward. In the epigraphic heritage of our two provinces, the syncretism with Helios is attested in the inscriptions from the reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (I, 1?, 17, 34); it is also to be seen in the bronze bust (I, 2) from Oescus, as well as in the representations on the sundial (I, 8) from Durostorum.

Unquestionably, the syncretism of Sarapis and Zeus (Jupiter) had the greatest popularity in the Thracian lands just as everywhere else. It is attested in the inscriptions from the two provinces during the Imperial age and particularly in the reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (I, 7 with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, I, 17 with Zeus and Helios, and I, 33 with Capitoline Zeus). The god's bronze and marble likenesses are referred mainly to the age of the Severi.

The Hades-Sarapis syncretism in the area under consideration is to be observed repeatedly but exclusively on the coin issues of the two provinces' cities.

An assumed and very probable syncretism of Sarapis and the Great God during the 3rd century is to be detected on the coins of Odessos and Histria.

The identification of Horus-Harpocrates with Apollo is assumed here in the Hellenistic monuments from Tomi (I, 14) and Maroneia (I, 51).

The present analysis of the literary, epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic information on the spread of the worship of the Egyptian deities in the Thracian lands in the Hellenistic and Roman periods has brought to the fore a number of facts and phenomena, either general or particular for this area. In the order of chronology, the monuments here have revealed a later penetration in comparison with the remaining parts of the Aegean world. This penetration was the result of the political presence of the Ptolemies on the

Thracian shores of the Aegean and the Propontis, as well as of the establishment of durable commercial links with the Pontic littoral. Bearers of the worship were revealed to have been persons of Egyptian, Greek or Anatolian origin who introduced the religious and cultural influence of their native lands. The non-involvement of the Thracian population in the area under discussion in the worship of the Egyptian deities during the Hellenistic period and the one that came immediately after, has become apparent. This non-involvement has been confirmed either directly, through the absence of Thracian dedicators of inscriptions, or indirectly, through the conventional character of the archaeological monuments that have been discovered. Thracian worshippers of the Egyptian deities during the Hellenistic period have been attested in inscriptions from Delos; such may also be assumed among the Thracian mercenaries of the Ptolemies resettled in Egypt.

The relics from the Roman period have shown that, aside from the presence of Alexandrian colonies in the big coastal trade centres of Moesia Inferior and Thracia, the main reason for the dedications and the raising of temples, as well as for the intensive minting of coins with images of Egyptian deities, should be looked for and explained in a historical and ideological context by the political consequences from the adoption of the Sarapis cult by the emperors from Antoninus Pius onward in the concept of a god who protected them and brought them military victories.

SECTION TWO

ANATOLIAN-BALKAN CULTS

II. THE CULT OF THE (GREAT) MOTHER OF GODS

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments of the Goddess and Attis

MOESIA INFERIOR (II, 1-100)

1. Village of Kopriva, Pleven District.

Limestone altar, chipped at the top; it is decorated with garlands and rosettes of a particularly fine workmanship. Measurements: height 0.92 m, width 0.60 m, depth 0.56 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

I. Velkov in *IAI* 8, 1934, 89 ff.; Gerov, *Romanizmut* I, No 24.

Deum Matri

Mag(nae) Caia Valeria

C. Val(eri) Longi(ni) ve-
ter(ani) leg(ionis) V

5 Mac(edonicae) co(n)iux
v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)

From the beginning of the 2nd century AD., according to Gerov.

Kopriva is contiguous to the village of Kreta where a sanctuary to Mithras was discovered. According to Velkov, the Goddess' cult was associated with that of Mithras.

2. Oescus.

Limestone slab with an inscription and a relief. Measurements: height 1.19 m, width 0.59 m, thickness 0.44 m.

Dobrouski in *MSb* 16-17, 1900, 121 ff., No 33; CIL III 14211⁴; Kalinka, No 381, fig. 122; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, No 457; Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 329.

In the framed panel with the inscription, one reads:

D(is) M(anibus).

Servil(io)

Valen-
tino

5 vix(it)
ann(is)

XXV. Ser(vilius)

Valens

sibi et fil(io)

10 vivus fecit

B. Gerov dates the inscription to the age of the Severi.

The slab features on one of its sides an altar-shaped base and an adolescent Attis (0.52 m high) in oriental garb and a Phrygian cap. His legs are crossed and he rests both hands on an inclined torch (?).

The name of the dedicator is Italic; the cognomen Valens and its derivatives are often met in Oescus (cf. Gerov, *o.c.*, Nos 768, 769, 771, 773).

3. Vulchitrun (locality of Kailuka), Pleven District.

Plate XIX

Tombstone with an inscription and reliefs. Measurements: height 1.51 m, width 0.73 m.

At the district museum of history in Pleven.

Tabakova-Tsanova in *Arheologiya* 1970, 1, 44 ff., fig. 9-11.

The front part of the tombstone, decorated with vine twigs, clusters of grapes and semi-palmettes, reproduces one of the most simplified patterns of tombstones in Moesia Inferior. The upper part of the lateral side of the slab, to the left of the front part, features Attis in a rectangular concave panel (0.60 m high). He is standing, facing front; his legs are crossed (the right leg across the left) and he is dressed in typically Phrygian garb, enveloped in a chlamys which is fastened on the right shoulder by a round clasp; in his raised left hand he is holding a *pedum*, while the right arm hangs by his side.

The upper part of the lateral side to the right of the front part carries another representation of Attis in a rectangular concave panel (0.71 m high). He is depicted in the same pose, but here the left leg is crossed over the right. His left hand is on the breast, while the right one hangs by his side. Between his right arm and the leg is a *pedum* facing front. This double representation of Attis on the lateral sides of slabs is typical of the tomb-monuments from the provinces along the Rhine and the Danube (Germania, Moesia Superior and Dacia Superior) and is attested as early as the 1st century AD.¹

The inscription consists of two consecutive texts, of which the second had been inscribed less carefully:

A

D(is) M(anibus).

Val(erius) Vale(n)s

vet(eranus) ex leg(ione) I I(talica)

vixit an(n)is L.

5 coniu(n)x pien(tissima)
coniugi
suo.

B

D(is) M(anibus).

Val(erius) Valen-
tinus fili-

us V(alerii) Val(entis) vix(it)

5 annis XXXV,

mil(i)ta(vit) (in) leg(ione) Pri(ma)

b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ionis) mater pie(ntissima)

posui cum coniu-

gi SMPD

Tsanova refers the relic to the 3rd century AD (following the dating established by D. P. Dimitrov in “Nadgrobnite plochi ot rimsko vreme v severna Bulgaria”). On the strength of this relic she draws the inference that a unit of the legio I Italica may have been stationed in the locality of Kailuka where bronze objects and Roman pottery have been discovered. It seems more probable to me that there existed here a landed estate of a veteran of Italic descent who had settled in the valley of the Ossum after his military service was over.²

4. *Novae* - near Svishtov.

Plate XX

Rectangular marble slab, arched at the top. Measurements: height 0.305 m, width 0.23 m, thickness 0.057 m.

At the museum in Svishtov.

Kazarov in *AA* 42, 1927, 343, No 26, fig. 26; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, No 469; Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 354.

The left-hand side of the slab features a standing goddess holding a *patera* in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. She is dressed in a girt chiton and a himation which covers her head crowned by a kalathos. To her left is standing a god in a chiton and himation, wearing a kalathos on his head. He is holding a *patera* in his right hand stretched out above an altar, and the horn of plenty in his left one. According to Kazarov, the representations are of the Great God (Θεός Μέγας) and Cybele.

The slab carries the following inscription:

L. Oppius Maximus sacerdos M(atris) D(eum) dendroforis et dumopiretis d(onum) d(edit).

The 2nd century, according to Gerov.

For the spelling of dendrofori, see Gerov, *Leksikalni vzaimootnosheniya*, 81 ff.

B. Gerov indicates the opinions of Cumont, L. Deubner and Zingerle on the meaning of the substantive *dumopireti*. Zingerle reaches the conclusion that *dumopireti* is the equivalent of νεωκόροι.³ Wikander does not agree with this conclusion, but accepts and supplements Deubner's assumption from the historical and linguistic point of view. According to Wikander, *dumopireti* combines technical terms of the cults of two closely associated goddesses—Cybele (by way of the component δοῦμος, for that see under II, 14) and Anaitis (via πύραιθοι = "Feuerpriester" of the goddess) who, however, were never to be found in syncretism in Asia Minor.⁴

The cult collegium of the *dendrophori* was typical of the Imperial age. Its members were more often than not freed or even actual slaves. This collegium was associated also with the guild of the timber merchants who were under the protection of the *Magna Mater* because of the identification of their patron *Silvanus* (also a *dendrophorus*) with *Attis*.⁵

5. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Upper part of a much damaged limestone altar. Measurements: height 0.50 m, width 0.38 m.

Built into a house in the village of Nikyup.

Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 511; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 678.

[Θεᾶς] Ἰδείας μεγάλης

[καὶ τοῦ Διὸς Ἡλίου μεγί-

[στοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Αἰσίου]

5 [λη]ν Φλ(άβιος) Ἀσια[νός]

---ου βουλ(εὐτῆς) ὑπ[ὲρ τῆς]

[ἐαυτοῦ] σωτηρ[ίης]

[εὐχα]ρ[ι]στῆ[ριον]

[ἀνέθηκεν].

The second half of the 2nd century, according to Gerov.

The interchange on lines 1-3 between the dative and the genitive case endings is to be met with in other inscriptions from Thracia, which have been indicated by Mihailov; the name of the dedicator on line 4 suggests his probable Anatolian origin. For the Thracian religious tradition which is to be detected in the inscription, see III, B, 4. The epithet of the goddess Ἰδεία is derived from the Ida mountain in the Troad.

6. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Limestone altar discovered in Turnovo whither it had been brought from the ruins of Nicopolis. Measurements: height 0.62 m, width 0.36 m, depth 0.32 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3216.

Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 507; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 722.

Μῆτερ θεῶν Σκελεντηνη.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Μητρὶ θεῶν

Ἀκυλεῖνος

5 Ποπλίου ἀνέ-

θηκε τὸν βωμὸν

καὶ τὴν τράπε-

ζαν εὐχῆς

χάριν.

The end of the 2nd century, according to Gerov.

All publications on the inscription indicated by Mihailov link the goddess' epithet with the name Σκήλης or with the local name of Σκελέναι in Haemimontus (according to Procop., *de Aedif.*, 306, 29) or with the city of Σκέλεντα in the Troad (according to Hierocl., *Synecd.*, 662, 16). The latter is indicated as a summarized opinion by L. Robert, who points out that Σκήλης was a commonly occurring name in Thracia.⁶ The opinion of Graillet, the author of a fundamental and still topical study of the cult, has not been indicated by L. Robert. However, Graillet is inclined to see in it an ethnonym of the above mentioned Σκέλεντα in the Troad from where, in his view, the cult had been imported (pp. 482, 567), but in his supplements on p. 569 he indicates that Σκελεντηνη seems to be a Thracian name.

7. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Limestone slab. Measurements: height 0.68 m, width 0.61 m, thickness 0.28 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 479; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 682.

Θεᾷ ἐπηκόῳ εὐαντήτῳ κατὰ

δνείρου ἐπιταγὴν Λούκιος Ἀνδρонеΐκου

ἔθικα (sic).

The 3rd century, according to Gerov.

In Seure's opinion, the dedication is to Artemis-Hecate, but G. Kazarov has indicated that it is to the Mother of Gods.⁷ (For the epithet of the Goddess ἐπήχοος in the Thracian lands, see M. Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VII, 56).

Εὐάντητος is a rarely occurring epithet of the Goddess in the Thracian monuments. It is known from the inscriptions at the Metroon in Piraeus (CIA III 134, 136, 137 where in addition to being attentive, she is also a healer) from the 1st-2nd century AD.⁸

8. Kovachevets, Turgovishte District (in the vicinity of Kaletso where the ruins of a station on the road from **Nicopolis ad Istrum** to **Marcianopolis** have been discovered).

Lower right corner of a marble votive tablet with an inscription:

---δωρος Βα-

---ος εὐχάν.

Measurements: height 0.14 m, width 0.12 m, thickness 0.03 m. Now lost.

Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 592; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 760.

The 3rd century, according to Gerov.

The Goddess is depicted seated on a throne with a footstool; to her left is the protome of a lion. Above the lion's head is to be seen part of the sceptre on which she rested her left hand. As to iconography, the relic is in closest similarity to the votive tablets from the territory of Philippopolis (see II, B, 3b, and II, 106-114); in them the Goddess wears a chiton the folds of which, under the himation covering her lap, have been preserved here too. In her outstretched right hand she holds a *patera*. The lions flanking the Goddess are depicted in their front parts only.

9. Shoumen District.

Plate XXI

Marble votive tablet, slightly trapeziform and rounded at the top. Measurements: height 0.235 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 6151.

I. Velkov in *IAI* 4, 1926-27, 316, fig. 133.

The Goddess is seated on a throne flanked by two lions depicted heraldically, just like on II, 8. In her right hand she is holding a *patera*, and her left one is resting on a sceptre. She is dressed in a girt chiton and a himation which covers her head and knees, and wears a kalathos on her head. To her left are to be seen traces of the representation of a tree.

Being a close parallel, the relic II, 8 could be used in dating this one—probably the 3rd century.

10. Madara, Shoumen District (the cave by which there was a Nymphaeum).

Bottom part of a marble statuette, 0.25 m high, 0.11 m wide.

At the museum in Madara.

G. Kazarov, *Relefi i statouiki in col. Madara I*, 1934, 161, No 5, fig. 145.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a footstool; behind the throne is to be seen the front part of a lion. The throne's right half is missing; next to it must have been a representation of another lion's protome just like in II, 9. She is dressed in a chiton and a himation enveloping her lap very much like in the monument referred to previously. The back of the throne is decorated with circles and semi-circles in relief.

11. Marcianopolis - Devnya.

Limestone altar. Measurements: height 0.63 m, width 0.39 m, depth 0.34 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 221.

Gerov, *Romanizmut II*, No 621; Mihailov, *IGB II*, 805.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχηι.
 Οὐρανίᾳ Μετρί θεῶν
 Παυλεῖνα
 εὐχαριστήριον
 5 ἀνέθηκεν.
 εὐτυχῶς.

The age of the Severi, according to Gerov.

The Goddess is shown here in syncretism with the Syrian Urania, a typical phenomenon of Asia Minor and Africa in the Roman period. A feature which brought the two cults close together was the taurobolium.⁹

12. Marcianopolis.

Fragment (top left part) of a limestone slab or altar. Measurements: height 0.19 m, width 0.36 m, thickness 0.27 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 1573.

Mihailov, *IGB II*, 806.

Ἀγαθῇ [τύχηι].
 Μητρὶ θεᾷ ε[ὐχύν]

13. Troesmis.

Stone slab decorated with garlands. Measurements: height 0.74 m, width 0.60 m, thickness 0.15 m.

Tocilescu in *AEM* 6, 1882, 41, No 86; 43, No 88; *AEM* 11, 1887, 30, No 27; *CIL III* 7505; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 215, No 466.

[T. Val(erius) T(iti) f(ilius) Pol(l)ia Marci]-
 [anus] cas(tris) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) ex
 [(bene)f(iciario) c]o(n)s(ularis), milit(are) coep(it) imp(eratore)
 [Antoni]n(o) IIII co(n)s(ule), funct(us) ex-
 5 [pedi]t(ione) Orientali sub St-
 [at(io) Pris]co, Iul(io) Severo, M[ar]-
 [t(io) Vero] c(larissimis) v(iris), item Germ(anica) sub
 [Cal] purn(io) Agricola, Cl(audio) Fronto-
 [n]e c(larissimis) v(iris), m(issus) h(onesta) missione in Da-
 10 cia Cethe(go) et Claro co(n)s(ulibus)
 sub Cornel(io) Clemente c(larissimo) v(iro). R-
 evers(us) at lares suos et Marcia Basiliss(a) matre
 dend(rophorum) enupt(a) sibi, Val(eria) Lon-
 ga sorore pro sal(ute) sua suor(um)q(ue).

Tocilescu dates the inscription to after 169-170 when, according to him, the veteran was pensioned. This inscription is supplemented by the data obtainable from another inscription about the same family, published by Tocilescu, *o.c.*, No 83, and showing the veteran hailed from Amastris.

In Tocilescu's opinion, the ablative forms on lines 12-14 are incorrectly used, as if there were a *cum* instead of an *et* on line 12.

Graillot believes that the 'fathers' and 'mothers' of the collegia of the dendrophori, one of whom was Marcia Basilissa (lines 12-13), also performed religious functions.¹⁰

14. Tropaeum Traiani (this is how it is in the museum's inventory book, while according to Stojan it is Tomi and according to Vulpe, vicus Clementiani) - Adamklissi. Plate XXII

Fragment of an altar. Measurements: height 1 m, width 0.60 m, depth 0.60 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 72.

Micu in *Analele Dobrogei* 18, 1937; Stojan, *Tomitana*, 215, No 16, Pl. LXXI; Vulpe in *Akte des IV. Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik*, Wien 1964, 411 (non vidi); Pippidi in *StCl* 9, 1967, 226; J. et L. Robert in *Bull. ép.* 1968, No 131; Pippidi, *Studii*, 229 f., Pl. in XXVII.

--ETUTICIIIE----

Aug(usti) Aur(elius) Valerianu-
 s pater dumi
 -Fla(via?) Nona ma-
 ter dumi sa-

cratis dumi
 Aur(elius) Dionus vix(illarius?)
 d.d.

End of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century, in view of the palaeographic particularities.

According to the observation of Vulpe, whose reading of the inscription has been accepted here, line 2 could carry the name of a so far unknown provincial governor, Tutitius. It is actually quite difficult to make a surmise about the emperor whose name was deleted in the third line because of damnation and this is the reason why I shall not dwell further on the assumptions of Vulpe, which are possible but are not adequately substantiated. In my opinion, the dating could be defined with a greater deal of certainty in view of the male names in the inscription, which suggest 211 as terminus post quem.

It is Vulpe's view that the name of Dionus is a transcription of the Anatolian name of Dionys, rather than an abbreviation of Dionusius.

This same Aur. Dionus was vixillarius or standard-bearer of the collegium. The identical provincial form of vixillarius occurs in another Moesia Inferior inscription about a collegium (CIL 3 7437).

The inscription has been frequently referred to because of the mention of *dumus*. It is accepted by historiography today that *dumus* (δοῦμος) was a Phrygian term of religious significance equivalent to μίνδις and σπείρα and has been adopted in the Greek and Latin languages. It must, however, be pointed out that the term in its Latin version is to be met only in this inscription and in the inscription from Novae (II, 4, dumopireti). On the ground of the few inscriptions known at that time, O. Walter and after him, Graillot accepted that *dumus* was an association pertaining to the cult of Cybele-Attis. After the publication of Wikander's monograph and the discovery of an inscription from Lydia, Hermann pointed out that *dumus* was a collegium of a broader framework including worshippers not only of Cybele or Artemis-Anaïtis, but also such of other deities.¹¹ This led to the controversial paper of Pippidi in connection with which Robert indicated that this collegium could have been associated in Asia Minor with the cults of Cybele or other local deities, but that in the present inscription there could be no mention of Anaïtis, an Iranian goddess in Lydia, and therefore the link with Cybele is to be expected.

The two recently discovered inscriptions¹² provide no more information about the collegium's association with one or another cult.

In the light of the available data, it is difficult to answer the question of whether the collegia in the Thracian lands indicated in the inscriptions by *dumus* should be linked to the cult of the Phrygian goddess or with cult associations of a broader scope. In answering this question one should also bear in mind other considerations of a more general, as well as of a particular

nature. The argumentation of the above quoted opinion of Robert is indisputable because of the fact that the cult of Anāitis adopted in Asia Minor has no attested diffusion beyond the area in Imperial times. But of the same evidentiary value is the fact that the term *dumus* has so far been attested only in Asia Minor, with the exception of our inscriptions (the one under discussion here and II, 4 of Novae and II, 101 of Serdica). This leads me to believe that the exclusiveness in the spread of this kind of collegia in the area under consideration also presumes an exclusiveness in the spread of the worship of Artemis-Anāitis. It is, therefore, quite probable that the background of the devotees in the collegium mentioned in our inscriptions should have had the same scope as is accepted for Asia Minor. In support of this assumption are the ethnic heterogeneity of the population of settlements of the type of Tropaeum Traiani; the term of *dumopireti* known to us so far solely from the inscription from Novae which bears witness to the influence of the cult of Artemis-Anāitis;¹³ and the fact that, according to the researchers, only two of the eight above mentioned inscriptions are linked with the Phrygian cult.

Sacrati dumi is a religious terminus technicus which, as far as I know, does not occur in other Latin inscriptions, but is attested in the ancient tradition. According to Graillot, the initiated included mystai of both sexes, while the term itself indicated the synonymous nature of the religious rites and mysteries of that epoch. This term was probably an equivalent of the Greek ἱερὸς δοῦμος from the inscription from Serdica (II, 101).

15. Odessos.

Plate XXIII

Marble statuette the upper part of which has been lost. Measurements: height 0.08 m, width 0.055 m, depth 0.06 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 1027.

G. Toncheva in *IVAD* XI, 1960, 75, No 4, Pl. VI, fig. 29.

The Goddess is seated on a high-backed throne with a footstool; in her lap is a small lion. She is dressed conventionally in a long girt chiton and a himation passing under her right arm to drape her lap. Her head is missing and her right hand, resting on the throne, holds a *patera*, while her left hand supports the *tympanum* which is leaning against the throne. The statuette shows careful finish and there are traces that it had been polished.

16. Odessos.

Plate XXIII

Marble statuette, much damaged. Measurements: height 0.20 m, width 0.15 m, depth 0.14 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 1399.

Toncheva, *o.c.*, 75, No 3, Pl. VI, fig. 28.

The Goddess is represented seated on a throne with a small lion in her lap; only its paws and tail have been preserved. She is dressed in the same manner as in the preceding monument. There is a groove at the top of the torso where the now missing head was placed. The lower part of the throne is also missing and it cannot be determined whether there was a stool under her feet. In her outstretched right hand she very probably held a *patera*, while her left hand supported a big upright *tympanum* of which only traces now remain.

17. Odessos.

Limestone statuette; the head which was fashioned separately and fitted into a groove in the bust, is now missing. Measurements: height 0.15 m, width 0.10 m, depth 0.26 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 4918.

Unpublished; included in this catalogue with the kind permission of Research Associate P. Georgiev, to whom I express my gratitude.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a high back and has a small lion in her lap. She wears a girt chiton and a himation. Her hair, dressed in the characteristic ringlets, used to frame her face but is preserved now only on the shoulders. The right arm is broken off below the elbow, while the left rests on a big *tympanum*. The workmanship is rough and betrays lack of skill; parallel instances of iconography point to the Hellenistic age.

18. Odessos.

Plate XXIV

Hollow terracotta of reddish-yellow clay, 0.013 m high.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 2441.

Mirchev in *IVAD* 10, 1956, 8, No 32, fig. 32, Pl. VIII; Ts. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, G. Toncheva, *Antichni terakoti ot Bulgaria*, Sofia 1971, 71, No 96.

The terracotta represents Attis seated on a tree trunk, his legs crossed. He is dressed in a short-sleeved, girt chiton, his chlamys is draped over the trunk, while a Phrygian cap covers his head. He is holding a rectangular *syrinx* in front of his chest. The *pedum* rests against the trunk to the left of Attis. The terracotta is plain at the back and has no bottom.

Mirchev refers it most generally to the Hellenistic age.

19. Odessos = II, 133.

Plate XXV

Fragment (left-hand half) of a much damaged marble slab with a relief. Measurements: height 0.225 m, width 0.29 m, thickness 0.085 m. The lower border carries the following inscription:

Ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ].

Ὑπὲρ τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρα[ατόρων καισάρων]

Λουκ(ίου) Σεπ(τιμίου) Σευήρου Περτίν[ακος καὶ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)

Ἀντωνεῖνου]

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3512.

Kalinka, No 37, fig. 25; Mihailov, *IGB* I² 90.

The co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198-211).

The relief is in a niche with the Goddess occupying the central place; to her left is a huge lion crouching to the right and pushing down the head of a ram with its left paw. Kalinka is justified in assuming that there was another lion to the left of the Goddess, if one is to judge by parallel instances from the Thracian lands (see under II, 106-113, *cf.* II, 65). In them, just like in this relief, the Goddess is seated though she looks like she were standing. She is dressed in a long girt chiton and a himation which covers her head and, passing under the right arm, is cast over the lap and falls by the left knee. Below it are visible the thickly draped ends of the chiton. In her outstretched right hand the Goddess is holding a *patera*, while her left arm rests on the throne.

20. Odessos.

Plate XXVI

Fragment (bottom left part) of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.21 m, thickness 0.062 m.

Under the representation is the following inscription:

πρώτως γενοίμενοι-----

εὐχαριστήριον Μητρὶ [καὶ Ἡ]-

ρακλεῖ.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 441.

Kalinka, No 197, fig. 57; Mihailov, *IGB* I², 81.

The Goddess is depicted seated in the right-hand side of the tablet and without the flanking lions. She is dressed conventionally in a chiton and a himation enveloping her lap. The thickly draped skirts of the chiton are visible below the himation. In her outstretched right hand she is holding a *patera*. To the right of the Goddess is Heracles depicted in the nude, with a club and a lion's skin over his left shoulder. According to Kalinka, there should have been at least one line of text above the relief: [δεκα]πρώτ[οι], but Mihailov is justified in rejecting this assumption because of the easily readable text.

The Roman age.

21. Dionysopolis (the seaport).

Plate XXVI

Limestone statuette, much damaged at the top and bottom and rather worn out. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.19 m, depth 0.10 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 1594.

Toncheva, *Neizdadeni koultovi pametnitsi*, 75, No 2, Pl. VI, fig. 27.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a high back and a stool and there is a small lion in her lap. She is dressed in a short-sleeved, girt chiton and a himation and has a low kalathos on her head. Her thick hair, dressed in the characteristic ringlets below the ears, may be seen beneath the kalathos. There are traces of a *patera* in her right hand, while by her left hand is a part of a big upright *tympaum*.

The Hellenistic age (?).

22. Bizone - Kavarna.

Altar, the description of which is not included in the first publication (according to it, the altar seems to have been housed at the museum in Constanța). Now lost.

Mihailov, *IGB* I, 8.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχηι.

Μητρὶ θεῶν

Λεωνᾶς ἀνε-

----πε

It is G. Mihailov's opinion that lines 3-4 included the father's name or the text: ἀνέ[θηκεν ὅ]π[ρ]...

23. Callatis.

Plate XXVII

Mould of a terracotta statuette made of reddish-yellow clay. Measurements: depth of the cast 0.01-0.03 m, height 0.245 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 2309.

Mirchev in *IVAD* 10, 1956, 20, No 120, fig. 120.

The statuette obtained from the cast represents the Goddess seated on a throne with a small lion in her lap. She is dressed in a chiton and a himation which covers her shoulders and knees and falls by her left foot. Her head is crowned by a kalathos, while her hair falls symmetrically in spiral-shaped ringlets. In her outstretched right hand she is holding a *patera* and in her left one, raised at the elbow, a big *tympaum*. Her feet rest on a stool and the right foot is slightly advanced.

This representation of the Goddess has close parallels in 5th-4th century Attic artistic output.¹⁴ An important difference in the Callatis terracotta cast is the treatment of the feet in a more flexible manner and that refers the dating rather to the 4th century BC.

24. Callatis.

Fragment of a little used mould for fashioning terracotta statuettes (the bottom part and the right-hand side, which represented the left arm and shoulder, are missing); 0.117 m high.

In Bucharest, in the Slobozianu collection.

Bordenache in *Dacia*, N.S. 4, 1960, 501-502, fig. 15; V. Canarache, *Masken und Tanagrafiguren aus Werkstätten von Callatis-Mangalia*, Konstanz 1969, 41, No 1, fig. 1.

The Goddess is seated on a high-backed throne with a panther (according to Canarache) or a lion (according to Bordenache) in her lap. She is dressed in a long-sleeved Ionian chiton and has a turreted crown on her head. In her right arm, preserved down to the elbow, she probably had a *patera* (a *tympnum* in Canarache's opinion).

Canarache dates the monument and the series of Callatis terracottas, published here under II, 89-94, to the second half of the 4th century (following 330) and especially to the end of the 2nd century BC (see *o.c.*, 29).

25. Callatis.

Plate XXVII

Terracotta statuette, fragmented (the upper right corner is missing). Measurements: height 0.30 m, width at bottom 0.30 m.

At the museum of Callatis, No 304.

G. Bordenache in *Dacia*, N.S. 4, 1960, 501, No 14, n. 11.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a small lion in her lap. She is dressed conventionally, has a kalathos on her head and her hair is done in the customary way—in two long symmetrical ringlets.

Bordenache dates the terracotta to the middle of the 4th or the 3rd century BC.

26. Callatis.

Marble head for inserting in a statuette. Measurements: height of the head 0.16 m and with the cone-shaped tip 0.215 m.

At the Museum of History in Bucharest, No 18, 138.

Sauciuc-Săveanu in *Dacia* II, 1925, 117, fig. 36; E. Condurachi, *Deux statuettes des cultes de Tomis in Serta Kazaroviana*, 189, fig. 3; Bordenache, *Sculture*, 32, No 40, Pl. XX.

The Goddess is depicted wearing a low kalathos; her hair falls in spiral-shaped ringlets on both sides of her face—this hair-do is in Bordenache's opinion characteristic of the Goddess' statuettes from the Pontic cities of Histria and Tomi.

The head ends in a cone-shaped tip so that it could be fixed on statuettes with 'mobile heads'.

Bordenache dates the relic to the late Hellenistic age. In support of the identification, Saveanu points out that it was discovered together with a fragment of a lion's head.

27. Callatis.

Plate XXVIII

Much damaged marble statuette. The head and the lower parts of the arms and legs are broken off. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.11 m, depth 0.07 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna, No II 483.

G. Toncheva in *IVAD* 1960, 11, 75, No 1, fig. 26, Pl. V.

The Goddess is seated on a throne and has a small lion in her lap. She is dressed conventionally—in a chiton and himation. In her left hand she held a *tympanum* and in her outstretched right one, a *patera*. The parallels from Callatis and Tomi make it possible, in my view, to refer the statuette to the Hellenistic age.

28. Callatis.

Fragment (lower half) of a marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.185 m, width 0.18 m, depth 0.09 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 6814.

Covaceff in *Pontica* 5, 1972, 514, No 2, fig. 2.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a foot-stool, but without a lion in her lap. She wears a chiton and himation. Next to the left arm is a groove for attaching an evidently big *tympanum*, now missing; the damaged tip of her right arm shows traces of the representation of a *patera*. The right foot is slightly advanced. The publisher dates the statuette to the Hellenistic age by taking into consideration the similar relics described by Bordenache and listed here under II, 59 from Histria and 43 from Tomi.

29. Callatis.

Plate XXVIII

Damaged marble statuette (the upper left part is missing) 0.17 m high.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 3599 (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 48).

Bordenache in *Dacia*, N.S. 4, 1960, 501, No 9, fig. 13,1.

The Goddess is seated on a high throne with *acroteria* on the back and has a small lion in her lap. She is dressed conventionally. The himation which covers her lap, falls in a zigzag line by her left leg. She wears a kalathos and her hair is dressed in the characteristic manner—two long ringlets frame symmetrically her face. The now missing left hand held a big *tympanum*, while her right hand, resting on the throne, holds a *patera*. Her right foot is slightly advanced.

Bordenache assigns the relic to the 2nd century.

30. Callatis.

Plate XXIX

Marble statuette, 0.16 m high.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 3608 (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 49).

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 501, No 10, fig. 13,2.

The Goddess is seated on a throne but has no lion in her lap. Her left hand is resting on the throne, while her right one holds a *patera*. In iconographic features this statuette is very similar to the preceding monument. Bordenache also relates it chronologically to the former, assigning it to the 2nd century.

31. Callatis.

Fragment (lower half) of a marble statuette, 0.175 m high.

At the museum of Callatis (?) (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 50).

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 501, No 12, fig. 13,3.

The Goddess has been depicted stylistically and iconographically just like on the preceding monument. Bordenache assigns the statuette to the same period—the 2nd century and points out that this type of representation had been adopted in Callatis from an early age (on the strength of the terracottas discovered in the city, see II, 24, 25).

32. Callatis.

Marble statuette from the archaeological museum in Constanța. Measurements: height 0.205 m, width 0.148 m. Unpublished (?). Presented by the museum of Callatis, if one is to go by Canarache's note (*Tanagrafiguren*, 25).

The Goddess is seated on a throne (she has no lion in her lap). The arm-rests of the throne end in representations of Doric columns. The head is missing—it had been fashioned separately and the torso has six grooves for attaching it.

The Goddess is dressed conventionally; her himation passes over her left arm and is cast over the arm-rest of the throne. In her left hand she held a *tympanum* which was fashioned separately—there is a groove for attaching it to the statuette; in her right hand she probably held a *patera*.

33. Callatis.

Plate XXIX

Marble statuette with untypical measurements and without a head; height 0.55 m, width 0.33 m, depth of the throne 0.22 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 6747.

Unpublished (?).

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a foot-stool and has no lion in her lap. She is dressed conventionally: her himation falls in a zigzag line by her left leg. The right foot is slightly advanced; the tip of the foot projecting beyond the stool was made from a separate piece of marble and is now missing. Next to the left hand are traces of a big *tympanum*, while the right hand, which was fashioned separately, is now missing; in it she probably held a *patera*. The arm-rests of the throne are decorated in their upper parts with concave rectangles.

34. Callatis.

Marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.32 m, width 0.175 m, depth 0.145 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1920.

Unpublished.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a high back (much damaged) and a stool; she wears a chiton and himation. The lions are missing. In her right hand, which is resting on the throne, she holds a *patera*. The left arm, covered by the himation, also rests on the throne; next to it was probably depicted a *tympanum* which had been broken off together with this entire part of the representation.

35. Callatis.

Slightly damaged marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.205 m, width 0.148 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 3598 (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 450).

Unpublished.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a small lion in her lap. Her right arm is missing. The hair is dressed in the usual manner—in two long ringlets; on

her head she wears a collar, according to the description in the inventory book; I was unable to locate it in the museum where it was one of the exhibits before it was moved to the new building on Ovid Square.

36. *Callatis*.

Fragment (bottom part) of a marble statuette, much damaged. Measurements: height 0.40 m, width 0.35 m, depth 0.25 m.

In the collection of I. Roşculeţ of Mangalia.

Sauciuc-Săveanu in *Dacia* I, 1924, 125, fig. 34.

The Goddess is depicted seated. To her left are discernible the outlines of a lion crouching on its hind legs and resting on its front paws. Saveanu identifies the much damaged representation after the vestiges of one of the front paws.

37. *Callatis*.

Limestone relief. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.195 m, thickness at bottom 0.135 and at top, 0.065 m.

In Bucharest, in the Slobozianu collection.

Sauciuc-Săveanu in *Dacia* III-IV, 1927-1932, 446 f., fig. 28.

The seated Goddess is depicted wearing a chiton and himation. She has on her head in all probability a kalathos (according to the publisher); below it the hair falls symmetrically on both sides of the face. By her left arm is a round object—it may well be a *tympanum*; Saveanu does not advance this assumption, though at the end of this article he states that the Goddess was ‘either Cybele or Magna Mater.’¹⁵

The Goddess’ two hands are resting on the heads of the male figures depicted on either side of her. To her right is a standing young man uncovered to the waist, his left foot slightly advanced. To the left is again a young man who is kneeling and whose figure is more graceful. According to Saveanu, he has some sort of garment on his left shoulder only and appears to be holding an object in his right hand. The author points to the Goddess’ acolytes and her frequent companion Attis.

38. *Callatis*.

Plate XXX

Marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.49 m, width 0.39 m, thickness 0.09 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanţa, No 1914.

The Goddess is seated on a folding chair (very much like the one in II, 39) with a back, but without lions. Her head is covered by a veil which also covers

her shoulders. She is wearing a girt chiton and a himation, which envelops her lap. To her right is a blazing altar on which the Goddess is making a libation and in front of which is a bull. On either side is a tree—the representation is very sketchy; it must have been the work of an inexperienced master craftsman who did not even succeed in portraying the soft features of the face, which looks more like that of a man. The tablet is markedly Roman in its characteristics.

39. *Callatis*.

Plate XXX

Rectangular marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.174 m, width 0.275 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 3519.

C. Scorpan, *Cavalerul trac*, Constanța 1967, 77, No 39, fig. 39.

In the right-hand side of the pictorial field, which is framed by a border, is a representation of the Goddess seated on a chair with a back; her feet are crossed. She is dressed in a long, short-sleeved chiton, below which are to be seen her shod feet. The himation is cast over her head and envelops the shoulders and lap to below the knees. In her right hand she is holding a *patera* above a blazing altar, and in her left one, in Scorpan's opinion, probably a vessel. This object, which is difficult to identify, could also be a small *tympanum*. This is an original manner of depicting the Goddess in Scorpan's view; it could be compared to a number of other representations from the area (see II, 55 a, 56, 74, 75 and further below II, B, 7 b).

The entire left-hand side of the pictorial field is taken up by a relief of the Thracian Horseman facing right, in hunting scene B after Kazarov. This relief is the most important in the design of the stone cutter; it not only takes up the greater part of the field, but also infringes on the border. In between this representation and the Goddess is depicted Pan (Priapus?) supporting a basket of fruit above his head.¹⁶ His figure is shown behind the altar against the background of a tree with a snake coiling around it.

Scorpan dates the relic most generally to the 2nd-3rd century.

40. The hinterland of *Callatis* (Limanu).

Rectangular marble tablet. Measurements: height 0.48 m, width 0.37 m, thickness 0.09 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 5451.

C. Scorpan, *Cavalerul trac*, Constanța 1967, 66, No. 32.

The seated Goddess is depicted in the right-hand side of the tablet on a throne with a stool, turned left. She is dressed in a long chiton with sleeves and a himation (?). Her head is in full face and a veil falls on either side of her

face. Her left hand rests on her lap, while the right one is invisible. Behind her back is a tree with a snake crawling up it. In the left-hand side is depicted the Thracian Horseman in scene B after Kazarov.

The 3rd century, according to Scorpan.

41. Tomi (?).

Fragment (top right part) of a marble *aedicula*. Measurements: height 0.19 m, width 0.26 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1008.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 38, No 59, Pl. XXVI.

Only the bust of the Goddess dressed in a chiton and a himation covering her head, has been preserved. The head is topped by a kalathos, while by her is to be seen part of a big *tympanum*. To her left is the representation of the head of a bearded god and to her right, the vestiges of another figure.

Bordenache reconstructs the relief on the basis of the votive offerings from the sanctuary of Cybele at Ephesus: in the centre was depicted a standing goddess flanked by two lions, holding a *patera* in her outstretched right hand and a *tympanum* in her raised left hand. To her left is Zeus, and to her right, Hermes. This type of sculpture was probably developed during the 4th century BC and was reproduced in a number of votive *aediculae* from Cybele's sanctuary at Ephesus.¹⁷

Bordenache refers this monument of the Goddess, which is unique for the cities on this side of the Pontic sea, to the last decades of the 4th century BC.

42. Tomi.

Marble tablet with vestiges of a relief and an inscription. Measurements: height 1.01 m, width 0.44 m, thickness 0.10 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 580.

Tožilescu in *AEM* 14, 1891, 22, No 50; M. Rostovtzev, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 765, 1511, n. 32; *Syll.*³ II, No 731; Stojan in *SCIV* 5, 1954, 557 f.; Pippidi, *Studii*, 227.

The 2nd century BC.

lines 35-37: ἔχα[σ]θον ἐνιαυτὸν θύουσιν ὑπὲρ

τῇ[ς] τοῦ δήμου σωτηρία[ς] Μητρὶ θεῶν

καὶ Διοσκόροις.

It is difficult to make conjectures about the representation on the relief. Because of palaeographic considerations and also because of the absence of Roman names in the text, it is referred to the Hellenistic age. Dittenberger links the text with the reign of Burebista in the 1st century BC. Following

Rostovtsev, the Rumanian researchers accept as a more probable dating the 2nd century BC. In this decree the Mother of Gods is associated with the Dioskouroi whose cult was widely popular in Tomi.

43. Tomi.

Much damaged marble statuette with a mobile head. The head, arms and that part of the *tympanum* which was fashioned separately, are missing. The high back of the throne and the bottom part of the relic are also damaged. Measurements: height 0.21 m, width at bottom 0.142 m, depth 0.17 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1430.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 34, No 47, Pl. XXII.

The Goddess is seated on a throne and has a small lion in her lap. The much damaged surface has presented a great deal of difficulty to Bordenache in dating the monument. She determines it mainly by the treatment of the folds of the chiton under the himation thrown over it.

In her opinion, the relic has features characteristic of the Hellenistic age.

44. Tomi (?).

Limestone relief in an *aedicula*, the surface of which is much damaged; the top and part of the left *anta* are missing. Measurements: height 0.28 m, width 0.22 m, depth 0.13 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1433.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 35, No 52, Pl. XXIV.

The Goddess, seated on a throne and dressed in the conventional manner, has a small lion in her lap. In her outstretched right hand is a *patera* and in her left, a *tympanum*; on her head is a low kalathos. In front of the *antae* are depicted two figures their arms raised in adoration—most probably her acolytes. Bordenache finds parallels for the latter in the monuments of the Hellenistic age housed at the Athens museum. In support of this dating she quotes the observations of E. Will on the cult reliefs.¹⁸

45. Tomi.

Shallow marble *aedicula* with a low pediment, very much like a bas-relief. The monument is almost entirely preserved, but the Goddess' head is much damaged. Measurements: height 0.34 m, width 0.24 m, depth 0.08 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 674.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 35, No 53, Pl. XXIV.

The Goddess is represented seated and has a small lion in her lap. She is dressed conventionally, but the himation which covers her head, envelops her

almost entirely, falling by her right foot and not, as is customary, by her left one. The positioning of her characteristic attributes has also been changed—in her outstretched left hand she holds a *patera* before the *anta* (or border of the relief?), and in her right hand, a huge *tympanum*. On her head is a low kalathos. Comparing this relic with the reliefs in the Athens museum, Bordenache refers it to the Hellenistic age.

46. Tomi.

Limestone slab. Measurements: height 1.80 m, width 0.70 m, thickness 0.60 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 144.

Točilescu in *AEM* 6, 1882, 22, No 45; Cagnat, *IGRR* I, 602; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 214, No 458; Stojan, *Tomitana*, 107, No 10, Pl. XXIV, fig. 3.

Ἄ(γαθη) τ(ύχη).

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος

τῆς μητροπόλεως

Τόμεως Σοσσίαν Ἄ-

5 φρικανὰν γυναιῖα

Κυήτου ἱερασαμέ-

νην Μητρὶ θεῶν

θυγατέρα Γ. Ἰουλίου Ἄ-

φρικανοῦ, ὑπερβα-

10 λομένην τὰς πρὸ ἐ-

αυτῆς καὶ ἐπικοσμή-

σασαν τὴν θεὸν ἀνα-

θήμασιν χρυσέοις

τειμῆς χάριν.

The 2nd century AD, according to Stojan.

Σοσσία Ἀφρικανή, who was a high priestess of the Goddess, was singled out for a number of distinctions in this public decree of the city. More information about her and her family is to be found in another honorific decree about her husband [...] Ἀφρικανὸς Κυ(ι)ῆτος. He was a veteran and an *agoranomos* (clerk of the market), that is to say he held one of the most distinguished posts in Tomi then.¹⁹ A comparison of the names suggests that the high priestess' father, Γ.Ἰούλιος Ἀφρικανός, was a freed slave, in all probability of the veteran. The veteran and *agoranomos* himself was obviously of non-Roman origin; his cognomen of Quietus is Latin.

47. Tomi.

Plate XXXI

Marble altar with inscription. I have no information about its measurements.

At the Paris Louvre, No MA 1646.

CIL III 763; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 214, No 456; Stojan, *Tomitana*, 216, No 17 (with bibliographic reference on other publications about the inscription which were unavailable to me).

Atti. C. Antonius Eutyches archidendropho(rus) pro salute sua posuit.

Stojan points out that Eutyches was the typical name of a slave and assumes that the dedicator was in all probability a freed slave of C. Antonius Fronto, known to us from another inscription (*IGRR* I, No 625) from the city. In Stojan's view, its connection with that inscription, as well as its palaeographic characteristics provide grounds to date the inscription with a good deal of certainty to the 2nd century.

From the above quoted inscription it may be established that C. Antonius Fronto was a veteran of the legio XIII Gemina and very likely a landowner and a citizen of Tomi. He saw to it in his lifetime that the monument was set up and also about the grove (σύνδενδρον) which may have a bearing on the collegium mentioned in the present inscription and whose archidendrophorus dedicated the inscription to Attis.

48. Tomi.

Much fragmented marble slab with an inscription. The two most important fragments were located separately: (a) at the Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, published earlier; (b) found on the road to Callatis in seven pieces. Measurements: (a) height 0.26 m, width 0.49 m, thickness 0.12 m; (b) height 0.92 m, width 0.49 m, thickness 0.12 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 908.

Točilescu in *AEM* 11, 1887, 44, No. 57; Cagnat, *IGRR* I, No 614; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 215, No 468.

- Ἵπὲρ τῆς τῶν θειοτάτων αὐτοκρατό-
ρων τύχης τε καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου
διαμονῆς Λ. Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου Περ-
5 τίνακος καὶ Μ. Αὐ[ρηλίου] Ἀντωνεῖνου
Π[αρθ]ικῶν Μηδ[ικῶν Βριταν]νικῶν

-----καὶ τῆς μετρὸς Ἰου-
λίας Αὐγούστης καὶ τοῦ σύν[παντος αὐ-]
10 τῶν οἴκου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διέποντος [τ]ῆ[ν]
ἐπάρχειαν ὑπατικοῦ Ὁσυνίου Τερτύλ-
λου, τῶν ἡμεῖν τ < ἡ > ν δωρεὰν δεδωκότων·
Τ. Φλ. Σαλλούστιος Νάνας Θεάδωνος
Τ. Φλ. Σαλβιανός μήτηρ δενδροφόρων
15 Πωλλίων Πωλλίωνος, ἱερεὺς Π. Αἰλία Ὀλυμ-

	Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀχιλλᾶ, πατήρ	π[ί]α ἀρχιραβ-
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ηλεια ἀρχιδενδροφ[ό]ρος <β> δουχῖσα	
	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιδενδροφόρος	
	Δημήτρις Ἀμφιονίδ[ο]υ	Βασιλικός
20	Ποσειδώνιος Πώπωνος	Ἀλεξάνδρου
	Τούρβων Διονυσ[ίου]	Φλάβιος Σύμ-
	Ἄνδρων Λονγ[εῖνο]υ	φορος· Αὐρ(ήλιος)
	Τ.Φλ.Θ....ς	Σεραπόδωρος
	Πωλ[λίων....]ιου	Ποσειδωνεῖο
25	Δημήτ[ρις]...ίωνος	Π.Αἴλιος Ἑρμέρας
	Τ.Φλ. Εὐ[τύχ]ης	Ἰούλιος Ἑρακλείδης
	Διονύσι[ος] Δωτίου	Ἰλαρίων Λουκίου
	Αὐ...ων Ηλεια	Αὐρ. Ἰούλ. Χρυσογόνος
	Ἑρμόδωρος Θεοδότου	Αὐρ. Ἰούλ. Ἰστιος
30	Νεικίστρατος Μάρκου	Φλάβιος Ἰστιος
	Ποντικὸς Ἑρμοδώρου	Αὐρ. Ἀθη[ναῖος?]
	Χρυσάων Ἀχιλλᾶ	μα
	φύσι δὲ Γαύκου	
	Σκειπίων Ποντικ[οῦ]	
35	ὁ καὶ Ποντικός	
	Ποσειδώνιος Π[ώπωνος?]	
	Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρ[ος]	
	Αὐρ. Ὑγεινός,	
	Τ.Φλ. Εὐτύχ[ης]	
	200-201 AD. ²⁰	

The dedication to the Imperial family by the cult collegium of the Goddess was made, as is to be seen from line 12 of the inscription, also because of the gifts received from the emperors. Out of the numerous collegiums are mentioned (in the order of inscribing) in the first column, which contains only male names, one high priest (l. 16), one 'father', in Tocilescu's opinion, of the archidendrophori (l. 17) and two archidendrophori (l. 18 and 19). The second column carries only two female names at the beginning. The first one is of the 'mother' of the dendrophori (l. 13) and the second is that of the so called ἀρχι-ραβ<β>δουχῖσα, who was, in the opinion of Tocilescu and Cagnat, *princeps cannophorarum*. Tocilescu points out that the inscription was made by more than one hand, but it is difficult to tell the difference.

Pippidi links the 'father' of the collegium Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀχιλλᾶ, with his namesake in the inscription of Histria dated to the reign of Elagabalus and who was 'father' of a Dionysian collegium.²¹ This linkage is, in my opinion, quite possible since there are no few cases in our relics where one and the same person was high priest of different cults. The difference in time in erecting the

inscription could suggest also close kinship (possibly father and son) since that name occurs very rarely in our monuments.

49. Tomi.

Plate XXXI

Marble altar. Measurements: height 1.25 m, width 0.80 m.

At the Paris Louvre, No MA 1435.

CIL III 764; *Analele Dobrogei* II, 1921, 219-224; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 213, No 445; E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile din secolele IV—XIII descoperite în România*, No 2.

Matri deum

Magnae

pro salute atq(ue)

incolumitate

5 d(ominorum) n(ostorum) Aug(ustorum duorum) et Caes(arum duorum)

Aur(elius) Firmianus

v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux

limit(is) prov(inciae) Scyt(hiae)

bonis auspiciis

10 conservavit

The reign of Diocletian (293-305).

Firmianus, Dux of Scythia, is linked with still another dedication to deo Soli (see Popescu, *o.c.*, No 3).

50. Tomi (the hinterland).

Fragment (bottom part) of a marble *aedicula* with an inscription. Measurements: height 0.15 m, width 0.14 m, depth 0.07 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1072.

Točilescu in *AEM* XI, 1887, 51, No 67; Bordenache, *o.c.*, 36, No 55, Pl. XXV.

Only the lower part of the obviously seated figure of the Goddess has been preserved; to her left is a lion facing her. Her conventional garb is represented clumsily and sketchily.

According to Bordenache, probably from the Roman period.

The inscription reads (with supplementing by Bordenache):

[Μητρι?] ἐπηχόω καὶ

[πάν]των δεσπο[ίνα].

The epithet of δεσποίνα has been attested for the Goddess in the Orphic texts of the 6th century BC, as well as in Aristophanes' *The Birds*. It is not typical of the inscription and should be linked, in Grailot's view, with the Semitic religions in which it often occurs as an epithet of goddesses. According to the

same writer, this epithet conveys the same idea as *κυρία* used for the Syrian goddesses Artemis, Anaitis and the Carthaginian Magna Virgo Caelestis. It is interesting to note that in the Thracian lands the epithet of *δεσπότης* occurs only on two inscriptions to the mounted Apollo and on one to Zeus Hypsistos (IV, 16).

51. Tomi.

Plate XXXII

A comparatively well preserved marble high relief; the bottom left corner is missing. Measurements: height 0.50 m, width at bottom 0.33 m, depth 0.12 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1713.

E. Condurachi, *Deux statuettes des cultes de Tomis in Serta Kazaroviana* (= *IAI* 16, 1950), fig. 1; Bordenache, *Sculpture*, 37, No 57, Pl. XXVI.

The Goddess is seated on a throne. There are no representations of lions. She is dressed in the conventional chiton and himation which covers her head and lap. In her outstretched right hand she holds a *patera*, while her left is placed on the *tympanum* resting on her knee. The back of the throne is high and is shaped like a pediment. On either side is an altar. Her right foot is slightly thrust to the side as if the Goddess was in movement and not in the hieratic immobility of her classical seated pose. This, as well as the schematic treatment of the decorative elements in the garments, as noted by Bordenache, give her ground to reject the dating advanced by the first publisher (2nd century AD) and to refer it to a later date, i.e. the middle of the 3rd century.

52. Tomi.

Fragment of a marble *aedicula*. Measurements: height 0.175 m, width 0.185 m, depth 0.085 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1977.

Covaceff, *o.c.*, 515-516, No 3, fig. 3.

In the *aedicula* is depicted the Goddess seated on a high-backed throne. To her left is a lion in full face. She is dressed conventionally and had on her head a veil, the end of which is to be seen covering her left arm and falling freely by the throne's arm-rest; her right leg is pushed forward. The border of the *aedicula* is broken off at the bottom. The workmanship is clumsy. If one is to judge by the part of the torso preserved above the knees, it was elongated out of proportion very much in the manner in which the monuments of Philipopolis were fashioned. These observations do not permit me to accept the parallel instances offered (with reservations) by Z. Covaceff, nor do they permit me to accept her dating of the relic to the Hellenistic age. In my opinion, the same observations are rather in favour of dating the statuette to the 2nd-3rd century AD.

53. Tomi.

Plate XXXII

Marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.205 m, width 0.14 m, depth 0.09 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța (the exposition of the treasure trove), No 2011.

V. Canarache, A. Radulescu, A. Aricescu, V. Barbu in *AAPh, Studia archaeologica*, Sofia 1963, 136, No 2, fig. 2; A. Radulescu, *Kunst- und Architekturwerke in der Dobrogea zur Zeit der Römer* in *Studia Gotica (Vorträge beim Gotensymposium im Statens Historiska Museum)*, Stockholm 1970, 223, fig. 4.

The Goddess is seated on a big throne with a high back and a stool. The lions which are typical of her representations in the Roman era, are missing. Above the sketchily rendered hair in horizontal ringlets was a kalathos or a turreted crown which widened in its upper part. In her right hand she holds a *patera*.

The statuette is a clumsy product of the 2nd-3rd century.

54. Tomi.

Plate XXXIII

Fragmented marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.28 m, width 0.23 m, depth of the throne 0.09 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1916.

Unpublished.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a high back and a stool, but without the accompanying lions. She is clothed in the conventional manner—in a chiton and a himation, of which there are traces. In her left arm, which rested on the throne, she probably held a *tympanum*.

55. Tomi.

Marble slab with its upper part missing and its bottom part much damaged. Measurements: height 0.70 m, width 0.35 m, thickness 0.22 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 684.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 36, No 56, Pl. XXV.

In the upper half of this relic is represented the Goddess seated on a throne with a small lion in her lap. Her garb is conventional. Oblongs are incised on the arm-rests. In the lower half of the pictorial surface is depicted a figure of which only the bottom end of the draped himation is to be seen; its right arm is raised and it is placed between two stylized trees. Because of the much damaged relief it is difficult to identify with certainty the figure at the bottom; it is assumed with justification by Bordenache that it was Attis.

On the back of the relief and probably at a later date have been inscribed the Greek letters ΙΡΑΟ.

The relic is of particular interest because of the two separate panels of the pictorial surface, as well as because of the representation of Attis (if the assumption should be correct) on a monument to the Goddess—this representation being unique for the Pontic cities during the Roman period, to which Bordenache refers the relief.

55 a. Tomi.

Plate XXXIV

Marble relief in open work with a border and a low pediment.

In Bucharest, in the Canarache collection.

D. M. Tudor in *CNA* 11, 1935, 109, 113; R. Vulpe, *Histoire ancienne de la Dobrogea*, Bucarest 1938, p. XXXIII, fig. 57.

The slab has been fashioned in such a way as to create the impression of representing an *aedicula*. Its right-hand side is taken up by the figure of a goddess seated on a throne with a high back and a stool; she is flanked by two standing lions in full face. The Goddess is dressed in a short-sleeved, girt chiton and a himation which covers her head and passes under her right arm to also spread over her lap. Her thick hair frames a triangular forehead and on her head she wears a turreted crown, which touches the upper border. In her left hand she has an upright *tympaenum*, and in her outstretched right one, a *patera*. To the right of this composition is a rectangular altar, profiled above and below, and above it is the trunk of a tree with branches and a snake coiling around it. The left-hand side of the slab features a representation of the Thracian Horseman riding to the right in scene A,e after Kazarov, holding a *patera* in his right hand. Below the horse is depicted a dog in low relief.

This monument is one of the best replicas from among the group of reliefs featuring the Thracian Horseman with the Goddess; in the present relief the Goddess displays all the characteristic features of her iconography during the Roman age.

56. Tomi.

Fragment (only the left-hand side has been preserved) of a marble tablet with a (double?) *aedicula*. Measurements: height 0.33 m, width 0.52 m, thickness 0.11 m. The relief is much damaged.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1908.

Florescu in *Dacia* V-VI, 1935-36, 430, No IX, fig. 9; Scorpan, *o.c.*, 75, No 38, fig. 38.

It is not clear if the relief consists of one or two separate *aediculae*. On the left-hand side is an *aedicula* with two pilasters; the one on the left is topped by a Corinthian capital and next to it is part of a tree with a snake coiling around

it. Above it is visible the beginning of a pediment. Between the pilasters is depicted the Thracian Horseman in scene B after Kazarov. To the right is another *aedicula* in which is depicted the Goddess flanked by two lions. The one to the left of the Goddess, shown in full face, is more clearly discernible. She is seated on a throne though she looks as if she were standing because the master craftsman had depicted the draped himation of a seated figure without being able to lend it volume. The long girt chiton has the folds which are typical of a number of monuments from Tomi. Under it are visible the Goddess' feet. Her hands drop down to the lions' heads but it is not possible to ascertain if they carried some of the Goddess' attributes. The head is completely damaged.

The relief's bad state of preservation offers no certain information about its dating and has been most generally referred by Scorpan to the 2nd-3rd century.

57. Histria.

Marble statuette in a good state of preservation. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.14 m, depth 0.062 m.

At the Historical Museum in Bucharest.

Bordenache, *Sculture*, 31, No 39, Pl. XX.

The Goddess is represented seated on a throne with a small lion facing right in her lap. In her left hand, which is out of sight, she is holding a huge *tympanum*, and in her right one, a *patera*. She is dressed in a long girt chiton and a himation which covers her knees and reaches to her left foot. Her hair falls down symmetrically in spiral-shaped ringlets from under the comparatively high kalathos in keeping with the conventional iconography. Her two feet resting on a support, are to be seen below the draped folds of the chiton.

The statuette was probably made of Proconnesus marble and is the only one of its kind to have been found in situ in Histria—built into an edifice of the late Hellenistic age.

In Bordenache's opinion, it reveals the characteristic features of the monuments of this type made in the 4th century BC and after, but it is difficult to advance a more exact dating.

58. Histria.

Much damaged marble statuette; its upper part is missing. Measurements: height 0.18 m, width 0.11 m, depth 0.07 m.

At the museum of Histria (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 01).

The Goddess is seated on a throne without the accompanying lions. She wears conventional garb; her chiton and himation are rendered in the manner typical for the Pontic cities. On her left hand are traces of a big *tympanum*, while her right one probably held a *patera*. The workmanship betrays the stylistic features of similar monuments from the end of the 5th century BC and after.

59. Histria.

Plate XXXIII

Much damaged marble statuette with a mobile head (?). Measurements: height 0.18 m, width 0.12 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1024.

Popescu in *SCIV* 5, 1954, 460, fig. 2/2; Bordenache, *o.c.*, 32, No 42, Pl. XXI.

The Goddess is seated on a throne holding in her lap a small lion which is now missing. The hands, which held a *patera* and a *tympanum* after the conventional iconographic scheme, are broken off. Bordenache indicates that the head is missing, but does not specify if it were mobile, something that could be assumed on the ground of the statuette's description in the text. A representation, which is unique for the west Pontic monuments, is that of a female worshipper kneeling by the Goddess' right foot, her arms raised in a ritual gesture.

Bordenache dates the relic to the Hellenistic age.

60. Histria.

Much damaged marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.30 m, width 0.20 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 2013.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 33, No 43, Pl. XXI.

The Goddess is seated on a throne. Her head, as well as her typical attributes are missing. It is, however, obvious that the statuette adheres to the iconographic scheme of the monuments discussed above.

Bordenache refers the relic to the Hellenistic age.

61. Histria.

Fragment (only the bust above the waist) of a marble high relief. Measurements: height 0.12 m, width 0.13 m, depth 0.06 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 895.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 33, No 44, Pl. XXI.

It is evident from the fragment that the Goddess was rendered in the previously described conventional iconography. It is also evident that the big

tympanum resting on the Goddess' left knee, was made of two parts and affixed subsequently to the figure. The high back of the throne was topped by a pediment.

In Bordenache's opinion, the relic is from the Hellenistic age.

62. Histria.

Fragment (lower half) of a marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.23 m, width 0.24 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1686.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 34, No 50, Pl. XXIII.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a footstool; to her right is a lion in full face. This iconography is typical of a number of monuments of the Attic type housed in the Archaeological Museum in Athens and indicated by Bordenache. All this, as well as the style and proportions of the figure give her ground to refer the monument to the Hellenistic age.

63. Histria.

Much damaged terracotta statuette. Measurements: height 0.29 m, width at bottom 0.16 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No V 10031.

Coja in *Dacia*, N.S. 5, 1961, 215 f., No 1, fig. 3, 4.

The Goddess is depicted seated on a big throne with a footstool and in an exquisite pose. She wears a chiton and himation; her head is crowned by a kalathos, which widens at the top and is decorated with a badly preserved ornament in relief. Her hair is dressed in the characteristic manner with two ringlets framing the high forehead. No traces of a matrix have been discovered on the statuette.

For the identification and dating of the relief, the author adduces parallel instances of marble statuettes of the Goddess in the Athens museum that are referred to the 2nd century BC. The identification of this statuette, which lacks the Goddess' characteristic attributes, she also supports with the unearthed statuette of Attis (II, 98).

64. Histria.

A comparatively well preserved marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.32 m, width 0.25 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1671.

Popescu in *SCIV* 5, 1954, 460, fig. 2/1; Bordenache, *o.c.*, 32, No 41, Pl. XXI.

The Goddess is depicted seated on a throne with a stool, holding in her lap a small lion facing right. In contrast to the above quoted Histrian and other parallels, the Goddess here is resting her right hand on the *tympanum*, while the left is preserved below the elbow and is raised to the shoulder. Bordenache has no remarks on this, but it seems to me that it is quite possible for the Goddess to have been resting her left hand on a sceptre placed on the throne's left arm-rest. She is dressed in the conventional manner—in a chiton and himation. Her feet are to be seen below the long chiton; the right one is slightly advanced and this pose Bordenache assumes to express movement (sitting down or getting up from the throne). On the arm-rest under the tympanum is a decorative motif which is exceptional for our monuments.

Bordenache dates the relic to the late Hellenistic age.

65. Histria.

Much fragmented marble slab with a pediment. Measurements of the most important section: height on the right-hand side 0.44 m, on the left-hand side 0.31 m, thickness 0.08 m. It was published in 1954, while the rest of the fragments were discovered and identified in 1960.

In the Historical Museum in Bucharest.

Popescu in *SCIV* 5, 1954, 449 f.; Idem in *Dacia*, N.S. 4, 1960, 273 f., fig. 1.

The centre of the pediment is occupied by the Goddess seated on a throne and flanked by two lions crouching on their hind legs against the throne, while below their front paws are depicted bulls' heads. The Goddess is dressed in the conventional manner. On her head she had a turreted crown or a kalathos. Below the pediment is inscribed the text of the decree in honour of Aba, high priestess of the Mother of Gods:

- Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Ἦδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Οὐλπιος Δημή-
 τριος εἶπεν· ἐπιψηφίζομένου Διογένους Θεο-
 δώρου· ἐπειδὴ Ἦβα Ἑκαταίου τοῦ Εὐξενίδου
 5 θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἡράκωντος Ἀριστομάχου, γο-
 νέων τε ἐπιστῆμων καὶ προγόνων ἐπιφανεστάτων
 οὔσα καὶ οὐδεμίαν φιλοτιμίαν ἢ λειτουργίαν
 εὐσχήμονα παρητημένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στεφανη-
 φορίας καὶ ἱερωσύνας καὶ ἀρχάς καὶ ἐπιμελεί-
 10 ας καὶ πάσας δημοτελεῖς χορηγίας ἢ καὶ ἐνδό-
 ξους ὑπερεσίας ἀνυπερβλήτως ἐκτετελεκό-
 [των] καὶ πάσες ἐξαίρετου τειμῆς τετυχηκό-
 [των, μι]κρόν ἡγησαμένη τὴν ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ
 [γένους με]γαλαυχίαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας

[καὶ ὁ] ἰὰ τοῦτο ἐρ[ωσ]μένην Μητρόδ[ον] Θεῶν ἀντεπαγγέλ[α]-

-օղալէի առջիկ վկ 50[առիւ ը]օտալաւ ըօր լաւ և[տրեթէ]

20 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ·

Տալովու Տալ Նըթըն Վըր Վուլվու . առաքելու առաքելու

-դէ լոյս յԱղբօսօժղէ, լէրի Աւետիք յօրէք զօր Ամբ Անթի

[illegible]

ကဏ္ဍ၊ နိဂဏ္ဌ၊ ဟော နိဂဏ္ဌဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ ဟော နိဂဏ္ဌဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ ဟော နိဂဏ္ဌဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊

‘*adapodny*’ *axax* *ny* *ayyoo* *al*, ‘*al*’ *[x]* *ayayoo* *ayayoo* *ayayoo*

-31 լաւ փոքրուի՞նք լաւ ղալի 123 'Տօն[3]րէնրէնէնաւօրց ղալի

1310 γιφ αρωστηθης διοχρηστη ηιο[α ιβ]ε ιο ασορ, αοι[ρ]οπωλ

[illegible]

ἔξωπυρρὴ τῆς ἀσπίδος· ὅσα γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐροῦσιν αὐτὰς ἀνα-

- Ի՞նչ կ'ընենք: Կենսաբանական շտապագործը չի կարող լինել:

... 1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-2662-2663-2664-2665-2666-2667-2668-2669-2670-2671-2672-2673-2674-2675-2676-2677-2678-2679-2680-2681-2682-2683-2684-2685-2686-2687-2688-2689-2690-2691-2692-2693-2694-2695-2696-2697-2698-2699-2700-2701-2702-2703-2704-2705-2706-2707-2708-2709-2710-2711-2712-2713-2714-2715-2716-2717-2718-2719-2720-2721-2722-2723-2724-2725-2726-2727-2728-2729-2730-2731-2732-2733-2734-2735-2736-2737-2738-2739-2740-2741-2742-2743-2744-2745-2746-2747-2748-2749-2750-2751-2752-2753-2754-2755-2756-2757-2758-2759-2760-2761-2762-2763-2764-2765-2766-2767-2768-2769-2770-2771-2772-2773-2774-2775-2776-2777-2778-2779-2780-2781-2782-2783-2784-2785-2786-2787-2788-2789-2790-2791-2792-2793-2794-2795-2796-2797-2798-2799-2800-2801-2802-2803-2804-2805-2806-2807-28

1. *Pharmaceutical industry* (1990-2000)

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[illegible]

-|vɪə mʌŋtʊnəz ˈædɪs| [ə] |ˌmʌnɪtʃən mɪ|x |ˌmʌnɪtʃɪz|

[illegible]

-----4m1vxd | 4m1vxd

.....

2nd century AD, following Hadrian's reign.

According to him, the expression σεμνοὶ γυναῖκες (l. 17) is the appellation of the Goddess' priestly institution; he derives it from the verb σέβομαι and translates it as holy or elect women. However, the participle may also be derived from the verb σεμνύνω/σεμνόω in its active or medial form in the sense of to dignify or revere.²²

The name of the high priestess Aba was widespread in Asia Minor (see Zgusta, 1-1), but the Anatolian descent is not obvious either from her father's or her husband's name, who is known to us from another inscription as a member of the gerousia (council of elders) and a high priest of Dionysos. The appearance of this typically Anatolian name in the prominent Histria family testifies to links (possibly by way of Aba's mother) with Asia Minor.

If we accept that the festive procession, organized in Histria at the beginning of the year and mentioned in the decree, was also associated with *taurobolium*, then it was possible for the event to have taken place in the reign of Antoninus Pius at the earliest.²³

66. Histria.

Fragment of a marble altar. Measurements: height 0.10 m, width 0.07 m, depth 0.07 m.

In the museum of Histria, No 286.

Parvan in *Dacia* II, 1925, 104; Stefan et alii in *SCIV* 5, 1954, 96 f., No 12.

---ς Φιλίνου

Μητρὶ θεῶν

[χαριστήριον ἀνθήθηκε].

According to the shape of the letters, the 2nd century AD.

67. Histria.

Marble base of a statue. Measurements: height 0.15 m, width 0.35 m, depth 0.25 m.

In the museum of Histria, No 287.

Stefan et alii, *o.c.*, 97, No 13.

Ἡλῖος Μητρὶ θεῶν

χαριστήριον.

According to the shape of the letters, the 2nd century AD.

68. Histria.

Marble base. Measurements: height 0.065 m, width 0.25 m, depth 0.62 m.

In the museum of Histria, No 349.

Pippidi, *Studii*, 228, No 5.

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡγησαγό-
ρου Μητρὶ θεῶν κατ' εὖ-
χῃ.

The 2nd century AD. Discovered together with II, 65.

69. Histria.

Marble statuette in three pieces, otherwise relatively well preserved. Measurements: height 0.28 m, width 0.145 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1672.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 35, No 54, Pl. XXV.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a high arched back; she is flanked by two lions represented in full face in front of the throne. In her left hand she is holding a *tympanum*, and in her right, a *patera* above the lion's head. She is dressed according to the conventional iconographic scheme of our monuments and has a kalathos on her head.

In Bordenache's view, this is the only complete image of Cybele in the Pontic cities. It was very popular in the Roman period if one is to go by the coin issues. She dates the relic most generally to the 2nd-3rd century AD.

70. Histria.

Fragmented marble statuette; the head, part of the bust and the arms are missing. Measurements: height 0.175 m, width 0.115 m, depth 0.095 m.

In the museum of Histria (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 059).

Bordenache in *Dacia*, N.S. 5, 1961, 191-192.

The Goddess is seated on a throne and, in all likelihood, held her usual attributes—the *patera* and *tympanum*—in her hands. She is dressed in the conventional manner.

This monument of the cult, as well as the following ones published here under II, 71-73, are probably those which Bordenache mentions in the above quoted article. Unfortunately, they were unavailable to me and the descriptions here have been made after the index-cards and photocopies at the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, which were placed at my disposal by my Rumanian colleagues at the Archaeological Institute with the Rumanian Academy of Sciences.

According to Bordenache, this series of monuments belonged to the Roman period, but the sketchy execution and the erosion of time does not allow a follow up of the stylistic development of this type of statuary.

71. Histria.

Fragment (lower half) of a limestone statuette. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.265 m, depth 0.15 m.

In the museum of Histria (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 0.100).

The Goddess is represented seated on a throne with a footstool; next to the right arm-rest of the throne is a lion (its head is missing). In its proportions the statuette differs, according to Bordenache, from the rest of the monuments of this type discovered in Histria (published here under II, 70, 72, 73).

72. Histria.

Fragment (lower half) of a marble statuette. Measurements: height 0.14 m, width 0.11 m, depth 0.09 m.

In the museum of Histria (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 0102).

The Goddess is seated on a throne dressed in her conventional garb. All characteristic attributes are missing owing to the bad state of preservation of the relic. The execution is clumsy.

73. Histria.

Much damaged lower half of a marble statuette. The index-card carries no data on its measurements.

In the museum of Histria (presented by the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No 0147).

The Goddess is depicted seated on a throne in the conventional iconographic scheme of the monuments from the Pontic cities during the Roman age.

74. The hinterland of Histria-Fîntinele.

Plate XXXIV

Slightly damaged marble tablet. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.33 m, thickness 0.043 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 7101.

Scorpan, *o.c.*, 68, No 34, fig. 34.

The Goddess is seated on a throne the back of which is to be seen to the left of her. The head is damaged. She is dressed in the conventional chiton and himation. With her left hand she holds a vessel in her lap, and in her right, the horse's bridle of the Thracian mounted deity depicted in the left-hand side of the relief in scene B after Kazarov. Here are missing the tree and snake, typical of this kind of relics.

Probably the 3rd century, according to Scorpan.

75. The hinterland of Histria-Ōrnautcuius.

Fragment (bottom part) of a marble tablet. Measurements: height 0.36 m, width 0.51 m, thickness 0.093 m.

From the Slobozeanu collection.

At the archaeological museum in ConstanŃa, No 15762.

Scorpan, *o.c.*, 67, No 33, fig. 33.

The seated Goddess is shown in the right-hand side of the tablet, dressed in a long garment. Her right hand, stretched out above a rectangular altar, very probably held a *patera*. Behind her is to be seen part of the representation of a snake coiled around a tree which has not been preserved. In the left-hand side of the tablet is a representation of the Thracian Horseman.

Probably the 2nd century, according to Scorpan.

* * *

76. Provenance unknown.

Much damaged marble statuette; the head, right arm, tympanum etc. are missing. Measurements: height 0.175 m, width 0.123 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1429.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 33, No 45, Pl. XXII; Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, No 34, Pl. XXIV.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a footstool with a small lion in her lap. She is dressed in the conventional manner and her feet rest on a stool with her right foot slightly advanced. There are traces on a separately made tympanum.

The Hellenistic age, according to Bordenache.

77. Provenance unknown (from the Mauros collection).

Much damaged marble statuette with a mobile head now lost. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.12-0.14 m. The measurements given in *Monumente*, p. 97, Nr. 40, are 0.11 × 0.065.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1431.

Gr. ToŃilescu, *Monumente epigrafice Ńi sculpturali* II, BucureŃti 1902, 514, No 7, fig. 7; Bordenache, *o.c.*, 33, No 46, Pl. XXII.

The Goddess is seated on a throne and has a small lion in her lap. Her garb is conventional; the enveloping himation falls down by her right knee. The *tympanum* of which only traces remain, rested on her left knee. The broken off right hand probably held a *patera*.

Bordenache dates the relic to the Hellenistic age.

78. Provenance unknown (from Dobroudja).

Much damaged marble statuette; the head, right arm, part of the *tympanum* and the feet are missing. Measurements: height 0.20 m, width 0.145 m. From the Solacolu collection.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 395.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 34, No 48, Pl. XXIII; Vermaseren, *o.c.*, No 35, Pl. XXIV.

The Goddess is seated on a throne. No lions. In her left hand she held a *tympanum* of which only traces remain. She is dressed in the conventional manner, but it is difficult to date the statuette by stylistic features.

Bordenache thinks that it could be referred to the Hellenistic age.

79. Provenance unknown.

Relatively well preserved marble aedicula. Measurements: height 0.28 m, width 0.195 m, depth 0.06 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1027.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 35, No 51, Pl. XXIV; Vermaseren, *o.c.*, No 36, Pl. XXV.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a footstool; the accompanying lions are absent. In her outstretched right hand she is holding a *patera*; it is not clear whether she held a *tympanum* in her left hand. She is dressed in the conventional manner and her head is crowned by a kalathos. The feet rest on a stool, while her right foot is slightly advanced.

The *aedicula* is represented in the classical style—with Doric pilasters, an architrave and a low pediment. The background of the *aedicula* is not flat, but decidedly concave.

According to Bordenache, the relic belongs to the Hellenistic age.

80. Provenance unknown.

Fragment (lower half) of a marble statuette on a pedestal. Measurements: height 0.40 m, height of the pedestal 0.10 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 995.

Bordenache, *o.c.*, 37, No 58, Pl. XXVI; Vermaseren, *o.c.*, No 37, Pl. XXV.

A seated goddess is represented 'in motion' just as in II, 51, according to Bordenache. Here, however, it is the left leg which is slightly thrust forward and which, for the first time among the known monuments, is uncovered half-way up. The dress is conventional. To her right is represented Fortuna-Nemesis, a *cornucopia* in her left hand and an indistinct attribute in her right hand. The figure's proportions are heavy. Bordenache compares it with the above indicated monument from Tomi and dates it to the middle of the 3rd century AD.

81. The Dobroudja (provenance unknown).

Fragment (bottom right corner) of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.36 m, width 0.35 m, thickness 0.14 m.

In the district archaeological museum of the Dobroudja, No 1909.

Scorpan, *o.c.*, 65, No 31, fig. 31.

In the right-hand side of the tablet is represented a goddess seated on a throne, visibly in profile to the left. She is dressed in a long garment. The analogy with the preceding monuments, for inst. II, 74, 75 etc., is obvious and Scorpan identifies her as Cybele. In the left-hand side of the tablet is a representation of the Thracian Horseman riding to the right. The tree and snake are absent.

The 2nd-3rd century.

82. Provenance unknown (Tomi or its surroundings).

Rectangular marble tablet with an inscription and a relief.

In the British Museum, London (Sotheby's Catalogue, 1969, 59, No 113).

The dedication is inscribed on the lower border:

Γλυκονιανὸς Λυσονίου
θεῶ Καριῶ εὐχήν.

Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, No 90, Pl. LX.

The right-hand side features the Goddess seated on a wide throne; there are no lions. She is dressed conventionally—in a girt chiton and a himation, a kalathos and veil on her head. Her left hand rests on a small *tympanum*, while in her outstretched right hand she holds a *patera* from which a snake is drinking.

The left-hand side of the relief carries the representation of a horseman riding to the right and holding a double-headed axe in his left hand.

Vermaseren refers the relic to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century.

83. Provenance unknown.

Much damaged marble head. Height 0.22 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1462.

Tudor in *Dacia* 9-10, 1941-44, 423, No 35, fig. 16/7; Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, No 33, Pl. XXII.

The representation is that of a goddess wearing a kalathos and a loosely hanging veil. Tudor assumes the goddess to be Cybele.

84. Oescus.

Marble head.

Todorov, *Paganizmut*, No 463; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* II, 490, No 131, quater fig. 425. Vermaseren *CIMRM* II, No 2248. According to Todorov the head belongs either to a statue of Attis or of Mithras, Cumont and Vermaseren are of the opinion that it belongs to the Mithraic cult.

85. Odessos.

Plate XXXV

Limestone altar, damaged at top right. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.15 m, depth 0.13 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3517.

Kalinka, No 151, fig. 43; Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 650; Mihailov, *IGB* I², 92.

Φλαβία Κυ[ίν]-
τα κυρία--
-η δῶρον
ἀνέθηκα.

The age of the Severi, according to Gerov.

Lines 3-4 are supplemented by Kalinka as follows: [Κυβέ?] | [λ]η. The supplementing is very doubtful not only because there is no room for two of the letters, as Mihailov points out, but also because the name of Cybele is almost totally absent in the Thracian lands (see below II, B, 2). In my view, the addition of the name of Hecate seems more likely.

86. Odessos.

Plate XXXVI

Marble fragment with an inscription. Measurements: height 0.19 m, length 0.115 m, thickness 0.065 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3544.

Mihailov, *IGB* I², 93.

[᾿Αγ]αθῇ τῷ[χη]
---ω καὶ Μ---
---Τ(ι)β.Ο----

The 2nd century, according to B. Gerov (*Romanizmut* II, No 468). Neither he nor Mihailov accept the supplement offered by Bormann in Kalinka, No 299, on lines 2-3: [᾿Απόλλωνα] καὶ Μ[ητέρα με] | [γάλην θεῶν].

87. Momino, Varna District (the hinterland of Odessos).

Fragment (upper half) of a marble tablet. Measurements: height 0.27 m, width 0.19 m, thickness 0.015 m.

At the archaeological museum in Varna, No II 359.

Toncheva in *IVAD* 1960, 11, 75, No 30, Pl. VI, fig. 30.

This is the representation of a standing goddess in full face, wearing a girt chiton and a himation which covers her head and shoulders. In her outstretched right hand she holds a *patera* above a rectangular altar, and in her raised left one, a round object—a vessel in the publisher's opinion. She is flanked by two female worshippers. The relief carries the representations of two other objects: a chest and a comb according to Toncheva, but that is hardly likely. Her assumption that the representation could be that of Cybele appears unacceptable to me not only because of the unusual iconography of the standing figure in a girt chiton, but also because of the absence of the typical attributes.

88. Trustikovo, Varna District (the hinterland of Odessos). Plate XXXVII

Fragment (top left corner) of a marble tablet. Measurements: height 0.10 m, width 0.10 m, thickness 0.02 m.

At the archaeological museum in Varna, No II 898.

Toncheva, *o.c.*, 76, No 6, Pl. VI, fig. 31.

The representation is that of a standing goddess in full face, dressed in a chiton and a himation which covers also her head. In her left arm, bent at the elbow, she holds a spherical vessel with a wide mouth. Below the arm is a rectangular object. Toncheva's assumption that the goddess could be Cybele has no ground and is not to be accepted here on the basis of the arguments advanced for the preceding relic.

89. Callatis.

Fragment: front part of the head of a female deity with a turreted crown; terracotta of brick red paste; height 0.06 m.

In Bucharest, the Slobozianu collection.

Canarache, *o.c.*, 58, No 23, fig. 23.

In Canarache's opinion, this representation could be of Cybele because of the characteristic iconography of the protectress goddesses.

The Hellenistic age. For the dating see under II, 24.

90. Callatis.

Fragment of a terracotta representation of a goddess with a turreted crown; height 0.075 m.

In Bucharest, the G. Buzdugan collection.

Canarache, *o.c.*, 58, No 24, fig. 24.

Canarache's view is that this representation, of which only the goddess' head has been preserved, could likewise be of Cybele. For the dating see under II, 89.

91. Callatis.

Fragmented terracotta low relief featuring the head of a goddess; height 0.15 m.

In Bucharest, the Slobozianu collection.

Canarache, *o.c.*, 58, No 25, fig. 25.

The goddess has a turreted crown, the characteristic hairdo and spherical earrings. Traces of white paint have been preserved on the bright red terracotta. Canarache thinks that the goddess could be Demeter or Cybele. For the dating see under II, 89.

92. Callatis.

Terracotta—male head of brick red paste; height 0.125 m.

In Bucharest, the Slobozianu collection.

Canarache, *o.c.*, 68, No 48, fig. 48.

The long curly hair, Phrygian cap and pathetic expression of the face give ground to Canarache to assume that this is a representation of Attis. There are traces of white and reddish brown paint on the hair. For the dating see under II, 89.

93. Callatis.

Terracotta—male head of bright red paste; height 0.045 m.

In Bucharest, the M. Herovanu collection.

Canarache, *o.c.*, 68, No 49, fig. 49.

The head is turned slightly to the right; it has long curly hair and a Phrygian cap. In Canarache's opinion, the representation is of a *dadophorus* rather than of Attis. For the dating see under II, 89.

94. Callatis.

Terracotta—male head of bright red clay; height 0.105 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1994, from the V. Canarache collection.

Canarache, *o.c.*, 69, No 51, fig. 51.

Long curly hair under the Phrygian cap. The exquisite, Asian type of face with almond-shaped eyes and prominent cheek-bones and lips give ground to Canarache to assume that the representation may be linked to Attis, Mithras or a *dadophorus*. For the dating see under II, 89.

95. Callatis.

Marble slab. Measurements: height 0.63 m, width 0.48 m, thickness 0.15 m. At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1483.

Radulescu in *SCIV* 14, 1963, 84 f., No 7, fig. 7; J. et L. Robert in *Bull. ép.* 1964, No 280.

The late 2nd or early 3rd century AD.

[Ἀγαθῇ] τύχη.
 [Ἡρακλ]η Φαρανγείτη χα[ρι-
 σ]τήριον· σύνοδος Ἡρακλε-
 ωτῶν τῶν περὶ Σάτυρον Σατύ-
 5 ρου γραμματεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδ-
 ρου Ἡρακλέωνος, Φιλούμενος Μενού,
 κτλ.

etc., and 19 lines with the names of devotees who, according to Radulescu, belonged to the religious community of the inhabitants of Callatis, but were born in the metropolis of Heracleia Pontica. The same writer restores the dedication on line 1 as follows: [Κυβέ]λη Φαρανγείτη ...

It is his opinion that the Goddess' epithet is derived from the Greek word *φάρανξ*, and not from the name of the Cappadocian city *Pharanx*, and this is supported by the nature of the cult.

The restoration here is after J. and L. Robert and it seems more acceptable in every way and better supported by the information obtainable from the inscription.

96. Tomi.

Plate XXXVII

Marble statuette; the head is damaged and the right hand below the elbow is missing. Measurements: height 0.195 m, width 0.17 m, depth 0.15 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1432.

Tocilescu, *Monumente* II, 515, fig. 7 b; Bordenache, *Sculture*, 34, No 49, Pl. XXIII.

The representation is that of a goddess seated on a throne and dressed in a chiton and himation. The attributes typical of representations from the area under consideration are missing (Bordenache thinks that there was in all likelihood a *patera* in the missing right hand). The statuette shows a difference in another way also—the goddess' proportions are rather small for the big and broad throne with a high back. The garments are rendered sketchily and clumsily and the dating is quite impossible. It is difficult to accept Bordenache's identification of the goddess as Cybele.

97. Tomi.

Marble statuette with a mobile head. Measurements without the head: height 0.31 m, width 0.20 m, depth 0.13 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 920.

Soutzo in *Dacia* III-IV, 1927-32, 628, fig. 1-2; Condurachi in *Serta Kazaroviana*, 186, fig. 2,3; Bordenache, *Sculture*, 39, No 61, Pl. XXVIII.

The Goddess is seated on a throne the arm-rests of which end in boys' heads—the *acolytes* of Cybele; the authors indicate parallel instances for them. The representations of lions are missing. The Goddess is dressed according to her traditional iconography—in a chiton and himation. She holds a fruit in each hand. The statuette had a head which was topped by a turreted crown and that has now been lost. The second head has been preserved but it has no crown or kalathos. Soutzo assumes that the two heads were interchangeable—the one with a crown was put on in the autumn and the other in the spring. He sees a close parallel in the goddess from the gold *patera* of Petroasa, decorated radially with deities of the Daco-Roman pantheon. In the centre of the *patera* is a removable figure of Cybele, who has been identified by A. Odobesco. His identification is quite uncertain since there appear in her representation features which are not characteristic of the conventional image; the stool on which the goddess' feet are resting, is decorated with vines and in her left hand she holds a *rhyton*. For his part, Condurachi does not accept the explanation of the figure's mobile heads which related to the two festivals. According to him, there were ateliers in the Pontic cities where statuettes with mobile heads were serially produced to meet the tastes of different patrons; thus in the case of the head with a turreted crown the artist craftsman had wanted to represent Cybele. Here are absent the characteristic iconographic features of the Goddess—the *patera* and *tympanum* which have been replaced by fruits, the kalathos or the turreted crown on one of the heads, and even the lions.

Condurachi dates the relic to the 2nd century. According to Bordenache, the statuette betrays features of 3rd century (second half) production and is the likeness of Dea Karpophoros; the two heads, which Soutzo and Con-

durachi associate with her, must have belonged to another statuette related to a different cult.

98. Histria.

Five fragments of a terracotta statuette; approximate height 0.50 m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No V 17002-17006.

Coja in *Dacia*, N.S. 5, 1961, 222 f., fig. 9.

(a) Fragment of a right leg, according to Coja. I was unable to see the fragments, but judging from the photo, I think that it is more likely the representation of a left leg; it is preserved down to the ankle. The thigh shows visible signs of a short chiton with traces on it of reddish purple paint used on Ionian pottery, as well as of the anaxyrides typical of the Asian costume. In Coja's opinion, the chiton was moulded in a *matrix* and then applied on the figurine.

(b) Fragment of a left leg preserved from the knee down; the foot is shod in the typically oriental shoes stained bright red. On the foot are traces of affixing to a rough surface.

(c) Fragment of a torso which in Coja's opinion was that of Attis in his hypostasis of a hermaphrodite; it betrays the characteristic features of 2nd century BC Anatolian production.

(d) Fragment of a right arm broken off above the elbow and with damaged fingers.

(e) Fragment of the lower part of the torso.

I find the identification of the fragments with a statuette of Attis doubtful not only because of the above correction, but also because of the explicit indication of Bordenache in the same volume, p. 191, on the absence of representations of Attis in Histria.

99. Histria.

Fragment (top left part) of a marble slab. Measurements: height 0.28 m, width 0.215 m, thickness 0.16 m.

In the museum of Histria (?).

Pârvan in *Dacia* II, 1925, 203, No 7, fig. 9-10; Lambrino in *Dacia* 3-4, 1927-32, 398, No 2, fig. 14; L. Robert in *BCH* 52, 1928, 170 f., No XXVIII.

According to Pârvan, the first line contains an address to the Great Goddess, the Mother of Gods, whose cult together with the Dioskouroi was widely popular in the Greek cities along the Thracian Pontic littoral.

L. Robert points out that the second letter on line 1 is not H, but I and offers the following and much more acceptable reading of the decree, in which lines 3-5 have been supplemented by the text on another fragment from

Histria, published also by Pârvan (V. Pârvan, *Histria*, 1923, 13-14, No 6; 110).

Μι[λησίων]
 Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ [τῶι δήμῳ· γνώμη ἐπ]ιστατῶ[ν· ὁ δεῖνα]
 Ἀναξιθέμιος εἶπεν· ἐπε[ιδὴ Ἰστριανοὶ, φιλ]οὶ καὶ συγγ[ενεῖς ὄντες]
 τοῦ δήμου διαφυλάσ[σοντες τὴν προυπ]άρχουσιν [αὐτοῖς πρὸς]
 5 τὴν πόλιν οἰκειότατα [καὶ φιλίαν, ἔν τε] τοῖς πρότερο[ν χρόνοις]
 διετέλ[ουν χρεῖας παρεχόμενοι? κοινῇ] τε τῶι δήμ[ῳ τῶι Μι]-
 [λησίων καὶ ἰδία κτλ...]

In his view, this decree dates back to the early 3rd century BC.

100. Histria.

Fragment of an inscription. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.20 m, thickness 0.10 m.

In the museum of Histria, No 267.

Pippidi in *SCIV* 5, 1954, 92, No 2.

[ὁ δεῖνα] Μενεχάρ-
 [μου Μητρὶ θεῶν κ]αὶ Διοσκόροις
 [εὐχαριστ]ήριον.

The 2nd-1st century BC.

Pippidi in *St. clasice* 4, 1962, 140, pointed out that a more careful inspection of the inscription would show that on line 2 the letters are ΟΥ, and not ΑΙ, and offers the following reading of the inscription:

[ὁ δεῖνα] Μενεχάρ[μου]
 [φύσει δέ-----]ου Διοσκόροις
 [εὐχαριστ]ήριον.

THRACIA (II, 101-135)

101. Serdica.

Marble slab of which only the right-hand half has been preserved in two fragments, bearing a Latin inscription in a *tabula ansata*; later a Greek text was inscribed on the back. Measurements: height 0.52 m, width 0.35 m, thickness 0.07 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3965.

Filov in *MSb* 22/23, I, 1906/7, 1 ff.; idem in *Klio* 9, 1909, 253-258; Walter in *AM* 35, 1910, 139, fig. 1-2; R. Cagnat, M. Besnier in *RA* 1908, I, 327, No 37; Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1925; Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* III, 197; 232, No 71; Lane, *CMRDM* I, No D 3.

(a) Latin text:

P[ro sal(ute)]
 imp(eratoris) c[aes(aris) Traiani]
 H[adriani aug(usti)]
 Str[atonicus Caes(aris) vel aug(usti)]
 5 n(ostri) [ser(vus)]
 verna
 de s[ua pec(unia)]
 Matri Deum [mag(nae) Id(aeae)]
 fec(it) [cur(ante) Ty]-
 10 ranno per M(arcum) Iu[l(ium) Satur]-
 ninum sacer[dotem].

(b) Greek text on the back of the slab:

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Col. A	Col. B	Col. C
-----	-----	[Οὐ]αλερία
-----	-----	μήτηρ δενδροφόρ(ων)
-----	-----	Παριάζ?
5 -----	-----	-α--ου Ὀβείου
-----	-----	γυνή
-----	-----	-υ
-----	-----β	-----
-----	-----	Κυρία γ[υ]νή
10 -----	-----α	Μιθραδ(άτου)
-----	-----	Ούερουλα,
-----	[γυν]ή Δρά-	Χρυσάνθη,
-----	[κ]οντος	Ἡρακλία,
-----	Ζωΐλου	Αὐρηλία,
15 -----	β '	Ποντιανή

Col. D
 -----δωρα Λούπου
 -----α Ἰουλιανοῦ
 -----η μεμύισασα στολίδος

 20 [----ι]ε]ροῦ δούμου
 [----τα]ῖς μυστρίαις.

(a) The restoration of the Imperial name on lines 2-3 by Filov is accepted in all subsequent publications. Only Walter points to the possibility of presuming [Titi Aelii] H[adriani Antonini Pii] as well, but the space is obviously insufficient. The inscription was erected for a building, if one is to go by the

vestiges of a *tabula ansata* on the left-hand side of the panel of the inscription. On line 4, Walter and Gerov restore the name of the emperor's slave as Str[atonicus?], while Filov restores lines 5-6 as [sodalicum] verna[culorum], which is rejected by Walter; it is not accepted by the other publishers of the inscription either. Instead of that Walter offers: verna[arcarius?].

The restoration of lines 9-10 is more complicated. Here is accepted the reading of Filov and that is adopted also by Cagnat and Gerov because of a number of considerations. First of all, there is not enough space for the restoration: fec(it) [et Atti Menoty]ranno per, which was suggested by Walter and accepted by Mihailov; the lack of space has been pointed out by Gerov as well. I also have my considerations based on the logic of the epigraphic data about the impossibility of assuming that the supplementing should be Attis Menotyrranos; he appears in inscriptions about private *taurobolia*²⁴ as late as the 4th century in connection with the brief revival of paganism; what is more, I would point to the fact, the latest indication about which is by Walter, that the last three lines (9-11) were inscribed additionally but, owing to their palaeographic particularities, cannot be referred to the 4th century. These considerations leave me ground to assume that the additional inscribing referred to the slaying of a bull in honour of either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius.

The name of Tyrannos on line 9, suggested by Filov and accepted by Gerov, occurs in another inscription from Serdica dated to the 2nd century (Mihailov, *IGB IV*, 1955) and referring to an individual from Nicaea.

(b) According to all publishers, the Greek text was inscribed at the time of re-using the slab and is referred by Gerov to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century. It represents a list of members of a cult society (ἱερὸς δοῦμος, on line 20) which consisted solely of women belonging to the local city aristocracy, as well as to the lower strata of the population, if one is to go by the single names of the members. On lines 1-2, column C is the name of the 'mother' of the dendrophori.

In this inscription, ἱερὸς δοῦμος is the equivalent of *sacrati dumi* in the inscription from Tropaeum Traiani (II, 14) and signifies those initiated in the cult. Usually these societies were mixed, but in this case, if one is also to go by lines 16-21, the members were only women. It is indicated for one of them that she was μεμύσασσα στολίδος, which is explained by the presence of special garments (stolis) for the mystai (μεμύσασσα is an irregular participle of μύεω);²⁵ the latter are designated in our inscription alone as μύστραι and were indicated by Walter as belonging to a particular rank in the cult society.

102. Serdica.

Plate XXXVIII

Limestone bas-relief with an inscription: Δειδὺς Διζου εὐχῆν. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.19 m, depth 0.025 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 64 a.

Dobrouski in *MSb* 16-17, 1900, 94 ff., No 5, fig. 48; Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1938.

The Goddess is seated on a throne with a footstool, flanked by two lions crouching on their front paws—these are again the protomes of lions depicted heraldically just as on the votive tablets (II, 9, 10) from Moesia Inferior. The back of the throne is topped by a low pediment on a level with her shoulders. She is dressed in a short-sleeved girt chiton, pleated above and below the girdle. Over it she wears a himation which covers her head and shoulders, is pulled under her right arm and covers her lap in one deep and many small folds to fall by her left knee. Her face is framed by sketchily depicted thick hair reaching to the nape, on both sides of which are small holes. According to Dobrouski, a piece of string was passed through them so that the relief could be hung, but it could be conjectured that they were used for attaching a necklace. The Goddess has a small kalathos on her head; in her right hand stretched out towards a quadrilateral altar, she is holding a *patera*, while her left arm missing below the elbow, rested on a sceptre.

The name of the dedicator reveals his Thracian origin.²⁶

103. *Serdica* = I, 57.

Plates XXXIX, XL

Marble slab restored from 23 fragments. Measurements: height 0.47 m, length 0.59 m, thickness 0.025 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, Inv. No 5926.

I. Velkov in *IAI* I, 1921-1922, 21 ff., Pl. IV; Théodoridès in *Byzantinoslavica* 19/1, 1958, 73-84; Dunand, *o.c.*, III, 226; M. Vaklinova, D. Ovcharov, *Rannovizantiiskite pametnitsi ot Bulgaria*, Sofia 1978, 33, fig. 77.

The slab was discovered in a big Roman building (near St. Nedelya Church in Sofia). It was most probably a public edifice which was destroyed in the 5th century.

In the centre of the slab is depicted a man wearing a long garment and Phrygian cap, and holding a round shield in his left hand and a stick in his right. Behind him is a wooden model of a crocodile attacked by a bear. To the left is a horseman, wearing a dog-head mask and riding to the right. Behind the crocodile's model is a portico with a pediment and next to the portico are a man dressed in a short tunic and a bear. All around are fighting scenes between bears and men in gladiatorial costumes or animals (stags?) and bullfights. Above centre four men are joined in battle on a platform decked with garlands. They wear dog-head masks and are armed with tridents and daggers. Next to the platform have been depicted a bear, a masked man hammering at an anvil (?), a fight between a bear and a bull.

On the left-hand side of the slab is another platform on which are shown two dancing actors. They are holding round objects at which they are striking

with their daggers (?). On a small column on the platform is a representation, according to I. Velkov, of Sarapis seated on a throne and wearing a kalathos. In his right hand he is holding a *patera* and in his left one, a sceptre. On either side is a lion, most probably in imitation of Cybele (instead of Cerberus, according to I. Velkov). Above Sarapis is a semi-nude Aphrodite holding in her left hand a mirror and in her right one, a toilet article (according to I. Velkov).

The slab had an inscription on top, of which only a few letters have been partially preserved. It is I. Velkov's view that the likenesses of the two deities serve decorative purposes, or have been depicted there because of their association with the realm of the dead and the nether world.

On account of the time when the edifice was destroyed, as well as on the ground of parallel instances, I. Velkov dates its building to 447, that is to say before the city was pillaged by the Huns of Attila. Théodoridès quotes the slab as evidence of circus games having been organized in the provincial cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, when speaking about a 5th century mosaic depicting fighting scenes between gladiators and beasts. An interesting view of the relief is that of M. Vaklinova and D. Ovcharov who include it in their list of Early Byzantine monuments in Bulgaria.²⁷ As basic aspects of the nature of Early Byzantine art they accept the influence of the Hellenistic and Roman traditions, the specific development of the provinces, and the Christian religion and world outlook. But the two latter aspects are quite inapplicable to the relief in question.

Circus games were undoubtedly the main attraction in late antique hippodromes in both Roman Empires, but fights between gladiators or armed men and beasts—bulls, bears, lions, leopards, etc.—were known in the time of the Julian-Claudian dynasty, under Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and later under Gordian I, Probus, etc. Consequently, the depiction of fights cannot be used in dating the relief.

A closer inspection of the figure which I. Velkov defines as Hades-Sarapis, would not support such an identification. It is plainly to be seen that this is a female figure dressed in a short-sleeved, girt chiton and himation. Taking also into account the other features of the representation—the kalathos and the two accompanying lions, I am of the opinion that an identification of the deity with the Great Mother would be more accurate.²⁸ In support of this view, I would suggest that the bull-slaying associated with this goddess was essentially a reminiscence of the primeval rite of the sacred hunt which, with the passage of time, evolved into a circus spectacle.

It is in this connection that the presence of Aphrodite Venus should be viewed in the relief under consideration; the *taurobolium* was associated, besides with Anahita and Ma, also with Aphrodite Urania (Venus Caelestis),²⁹ the warlike Semitic goddess.

The relief betrays a number of characteristic features of late antique art and these give ground for it to be referred to the 4th-5th century. I. Velkov's dating indicates only the endmost possible limit. Since there are no other supporting points for the dating, I think that some considerations of a historical nature should be taken into account, namely the religious policy of the emperors who reigned in the 4th century. In this respect, the information about the Emperor Julian and the usurper Eugene (392-394), as well as the last dated altars for the sacrifice of bulls in 390,³⁰ delimit the possible period for the last public manifestation of the cult of the Great Goddess in Serdica.

104. Village of Bogdanitsa (the territory of **Philippopolis**).

Marble altar with a representation, now lost.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1452.

Ἵπὲρ τῆς τῶν σεβασ-
 τῶν διαμονῆς καὶ
 τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτῶ-
 ν οἴκου καὶ ἱερᾶς συ[v]-
 5 κλ[ή]του καὶ δήμου ῥ-
 ωμαίων-----
 Βειθυ(ος καὶ) Χρῆστος Δ-
 ε(ιζ?)ηου [κ]αὶ Μίκαλο-
 ς Παπίου καὶ Ἀντ(ίφ)-
 10 ιλος Χρυσίπτου
 ἐπιμελητεύσα-
 ντες τῆς κατασκ-
 ευῆς τῶν ναῶν
 τὸν βωμόν καὶ τὸ
 15 ἄγαλμα Μητρὶ θε-
 ὦν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀφι-
 έρωσαν.

The name of Βειθυς on line 7 could have been that of a local Thracian or an Anatolian settler.³¹ The name of the other dedicator Μίκαλος Παπίου also betrays Anatolian origin; though his proper name occurred throughout the Greek world, his patronymic, according to Robert,³² was evinced in Apameia and was Phrygian.

The relic was discovered on the territory of an antique vicus. The text is obviously incomplete—the emperors' names are missing. Dedications to the emperors, as well as to the senate and the people of Rome occur in a number of other inscriptions from Philippopolis, mostly from the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (see Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1323, 907, 1589), but also from

the co-rule of Philip the Arab and his son (*IGB* III, 911). The Imperial House is mentioned in inscriptions from Philippopolis from the age of the Severi (Mihailov, *IGB* III, 907, 908, 1323). These observations give me ground to refer the relic in all likelihood to the co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (201-211).

105. Railway station of Belovo by the Maritsa (the territory of **Philippopolis).**

Plate XLI

Profiled marble altar, chipped at top and bottom, with an inscription. In the centre of its upper surface is a hole with a diameter of 0.15 m. Measurements: height 0.58 m, width 0.20 m, depth 0.20 m.

At the District Museum of History in Pazardjik.

Kazarov in *AA* 42, 1927, 325, No 8, fig. 7; Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1094.

Μητρὶ θεῶν
 Ἀλκιπιά- (sic)
 δης εὐχα-
 [ρ]ιστήριον
 5 [ἀ]νέθηκε.

106. Philippopolis.

Plate XLII

Nearly trapeziform marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.21 m, width 0.14 m, thickness about 0.02 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No II 269.

Unpublished. It was given me for inspection by Senior Research Associate L. Botousharova, curator of the section of antiquities at the museum, for whose kindness I express my gratitude.

The Goddess is shown here between the protomes of two lions which are represented heraldically. The lack of perspective in depicting the figure creates the impression that it is standing, but the enlarged lower part testifies to the artist's intent of portraying it seated. The Goddess is dressed in a girt chiton which is not sketchily depicted as in the subsequent monuments but falls fan-wise in deep folds; the wide sleeves are also pleated. Her himation is cast over her head and passes under the right arm to cover the lap. Her head is crowned by a kalathos. Beneath the folds of the chiton are visible the feet. In her outstretched right hand the Goddess is holding a *patera*, while her left one rests on a sceptre. Iconographically, the tablet has its parallels in relics II 9 from Shoumen district and II, 102 from Serdica.

This is the only monument of its kind to have come to light with certainty at Philippopolis. Its iconography, which is very similar to the monuments of unknown provenance housed at the Plovdiv museum, gives me ground to

assume that some of them may have been found in the city, and not on its territory as is assumed by H. Danov.

107. Philippopolis or its territory.

Plate XLIII

Nearly trapeziform marble tablet, rounded at the top. The border is slightly damaged. Measurements: height 0.20 m, width 0.15 m, thickness about 0.02 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 1574 bis.

Unpublished. Entered in the museum's inventory book after No 1574 (II, 115 in the present publication) without a description. I owe gratitude to Senior Research Associate L. Botousharova for her kind permission to use it in the present study.

The Goddess is portrayed seated between the protomes of two lions. The chiton is sketchily depicted, while the himation is treated in slightly greater detail. The latter is obviously cast over the head and falls in folds on the lap. In her right hand the Goddess is holding a *patera* above the lion's head, while her left one rests on a sceptre. In its proportions, the representation is closest to II, 106 discovered in Philippopolis, and in the sketchy depiction of the tree, outlined in contours only to the right of the Goddess, it resembles the tablet included here under II, 109. In general, the monument betrays signs of incompleteness.

The iconographic features of the relic give me ground to assign it to the series of votive dedications to the Goddess from the city itself or its territory made in the 2nd-3rd century.

108. Philippopolis or its territory.

Plate XLIV

Marble votive tablet, rounded at the top. Measurements: height 0.18 m, width 0.095 m, thickness 0.02 m. Unknown provenance in Plovdiv district.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 1285.

Danov in *GNM* VI, 1932-1934, 148, No 3, fig. 111.

The Goddess is depicted between two lions represented heraldically in much the same manner as in II, 106. She is wearing a short-sleeved girt chiton and a himation passing under her right arm and across her lap in a deep fold which falls down on the right-hand side. Below it are to be seen four folds of the chiton. Her hair covers part of the forehead and falls symmetrically on both sides of the face; the himation seems to be cast over the head covering also the shoulders; she has on her head a low kalathos. In her right hand stretched out above the lion's head, she is holding a *patera*, and in her raised left one, a sceptre.

The publisher observes that the Goddess seems to be standing. However, the lower part of the figure, enlarged by the enveloping himation, as well as

the slightly protruding knees suggest that the artist's intent was to represent her in her habitual pose, seated on a throne.

109. Philippopolis or its territory.

Plate XLV

Upper half of a marble votive tablet with a curved frame on which may be seen illegible traces of an inscription. Measurements: height 0.155 m, width 0.18 m, thickness 0.03 m. Unknown provenance in Plovdiv district.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 1284.

Danov, *o.c.*, 147, No 2, fig. 110.

Very likely the Goddess was represented here just like in II, 106, that is to say seated between two heraldically depicted lions. She has no kalathos, but her himation is cast over her head and also covers her shoulders. In her right hand she is holding a *patera*, while her raised left one rests on a sceptre. Her face is outlined in contours only. To the right of the Goddess, in the corner of the tablet, is visible a sketchy representation which, if one is to go by II, 107, represents the crown of a tree.

110. Philippopolis or its territory.

Lower part of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.19 m, width 0.20 m, thickness 0.05 m.

Unknown provenance in Plovdiv district (?).

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 69, according to the publisher. The museum's inventory book carries no such monument under the said number. I and Senior Research Associate L. Botousharova looked for the monument but to no avail (lost?).

Danov, *o.c.*, 149, No 5, fig. 113.

The Goddess was represented between two lions of which only the protome of the one to the left of the Goddess had been preserved. She must have held in her right hand a *patera*, while leaning with her left one on a sceptre, if one is to go by the rest of the monuments from Plovdiv district. Part of the pleated chiton has been preserved and is visible below the himation spread over the lap.

The left-hand side corner carried the representation of a rectangular, slightly profiled altar.

111. The territory of **Philippopolis** (the sanctuary of Hera near the village of Dyulevo, formerly Aivadjik, Peshtera county).

Fragment of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.11 m, width 0.13 m, thickness 0.025 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Kazarov in *AA* 1929, 316, No 24, fig. 24.

The Goddess is portrayed probably seated. On either side are the heraldically depicted protomes of two lions. She is dressed in a chiton and a himation; in her right hand she is holding a *patera*, and with her left hand, if one is to go by the rest of the monuments from the region, she must have been leaning on a sceptre.

112. The territory of **Philippopolis** (the sanctuary of Hera near the village of Dyulevo). Plate XLV

Lower left-hand part of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.11 m, width 0.105 m, thickness 0.015 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 3057.

Botousharova in *GPLNM* I, 1948, 69, No 5, fig. 11.

The preserved part of the relic shows the lower part of the Goddess' himation. She must have been seated in all likelihood between two lions which were heraldically depicted (only the protome of the lion to the right of the Goddess has been preserved).

113. The territory of **Philippopolis** (the village of Byaga, Peshtera county, in the locality of Vorzha Mogila). Plate XLVI

Fragment of a marble votive tablet. Measurements: height 0.185 m, width 0.135 m, thickness 0.025 m. On the lower border is inscribed: TA τέκνοις----

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 3079.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1322.

The Goddess is shown just like in II, 108, seated on a throne with a footstool. Only the protome of the lion to the left of her has been preserved. She is wearing a short-sleeved, girt chiton which hangs in four folds below the himation covering her lap. With her left hand she is leaning on a sceptre, while in her right hand she must have held a *patera* above the other lion's protome.

114. The territory of **Philippopolis** (village of Radomir) Plate XLVI

Nearly trapeziform marble votive tablet, rounded at the top. On the border above the representation is inscribed the dedication: [M]ητρι θεῶν, and below it is the name of the dedicator: Ἀπολλωνίδης. Measurements: height 0.205 m, width 0.17 m, thickness 0.035 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 6671.

I. Velkov in *GNM* VI, 1932-34, 67, No 1, fig. 42; Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1507.

The Goddess is shown between the protomes of two lions, whose forelegs are not upright as in other similar monuments from the city's territory (for example, II, 106-113), but are resting on the ground. In her garb or attributes she is no different from the said monuments, only the chiton instead of being depicted sketchily, is shown in folds above and below the girdle. She has no kalathos. The sceptre on which she leans with her left hand, infringes on the border of the tablet.

115. Philippopolis or its territory.

Plate XLVII

Rectangular marble votive tablet with a frame. Measurements: height 0.235 m, width 0.185 m, thickness about 0.05 m. Unknown provenance in Plovdiv district.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 1574.

Danov, *o.c.*, 148, No 4, fig. 112.

The Goddess is flanked by two lions shown here in full face. She is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton over which and below the waist is draped a himation. Below the himation are visible five folds of the chiton and the Goddess' feet. Here again the artist had been unable to represent the seated figure in the right perspective and, at first glance it looks as if it is standing. The head infringes upon the border; the thick hair is sketchily depicted and falls on either side of the face down to the shoulders. In her right hand stretched out above the lion's head, she is holding a *patera*, and in her left one, raised up to the head, she holds an oblong object which comes down to the shoulder. Very likely, the inexperienced artist had wanted to represent by this the sceptre with which we see the Goddess in the preceding monuments. Between the left hand and the lion's head is a round object, very probably a *tympanum*. Next to the lion, in the bottom left corner of the tablet is an indistinct representation of an altar (?), which takes up part of the border as well.

116. The territory of Philippopolis (village of A. Konstantinov). Plate XLVII

Lower part of a marble votive tablet with an inscription below the relief: Χρηστος Αφου. Measurements: height 0.22 m, width 0.25 m, thickness 0.015 m.

At the museum of history in Pazardjik.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1315.

The Goddess is seated between two lions. A deviation from the already described typical iconography of the region is the representation of the lion to the left of the Goddess; instead of by its protome (as is the lion to her right), here it is depicted crouching on its hind legs in front of her left knee, its forelegs upright as if ready for a jump. The Goddess is depicted in her

customary garb—with a chiton draped in folds under the enveloping himation below which are visible her feet. In her right hand, which has been preserved and is stretched out above the lion's head, she holds a *patera*, while with her left one she must have been leaning on a sceptre. To the right of the Goddess, a figure visible below the waist, is represented in the conventional Thracian iconography of Artemis, as defined by the publisher.

The patronymic of the dedicator betrays his probable Anatolian origin.³³

This is the only relief to have come to light in the area under consideration, in which the Mother of Gods and Artemis are shown together in their *interpretatio graeca*. This relief is important in view of the further interpretation of the cult, because it has at least one very interesting parallel and that is the recently discovered relief at Sardis in which, according to the researchers, have been depicted two goddesses, each revered as a high goddess in her own right, and these are Artemis and Cybele; these two goddesses the Lydians began to confuse and interchange from the Hellenistic period and onward under the influence of Greek culture and religion.³⁴

117. The territory of **Philippopolis** (village of Pastousha, at the vineyards by the Old Church). Plate XLVIII

Marble representation in high relief. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.15 m, depth 0.09-0.11 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 827.

Danov, *o.c.*, 147, No 1, fig. 109.

This representation is distinguished from all the rest of the relics from Plovdiv and its territory by its iconographic particularities, as well as by the manner of its execution. The publisher defines it as a statuette the upper part of which ends in a pediment. In my opinion, however, the monument under discussion here combines several different manners of depicting the Goddess and that makes it difficult to determine its typology. The Goddess is shown in high relief against the background of a naiskos and is reminiscent of the sculpted images known to us from the Pontic cities of the Thracian littoral, but does not have the particularities of a statuette. The relic was discovered together with votive tablets to Heracles and Hera, two greatly revered deities in these parts.

The Goddess is depicted seated on a throne with a footstool flanked by two lions crouching on their hind legs. She is dressed in a girt chiton, a himation and has a turreted crown on her head (a kalathos, according to the publisher). The himation is cast over her head and passing under the right arm, it is arranged in numerous folds on her lap. Below it are to be seen four folds of the chiton and the feet of the Goddess with the left one pushed slightly forward.

In her right hand she is holding a *patera*, and in her left—a *tympanum* resting on the lion's head.

Very probably, this representation was dedicated to the Goddess at a Thracian sanctuary.³⁵

118. Hadrianopolis - Edirne.

Bronze statuette.

In the Louvre (Longpérier, *Notices des bronzes antiques du Musée du Louvre*, 95, No 446, non vidi).

Dumont-Homolle, *o.c.*, 358, No 62,5; Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 14 No 3 and Pl. IV, 2.

The statuette is of Attis portrayed as an adolescent leaning on a column with a Corinthian capital and with his legs crossed. He is holding in his hands a *syrinx* and a *pedum*.³⁶

119. Arcadiopolis - Lüleburgaz.

Upper half of a marble votive tablet with an arched niche.

At the museum in Edirne, No 3443.

Z. Taşliklioğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafya araştırmaları* II, Istanbul 1971, 8-9, fig. 4.

Taşliklioğlu identifies the goddess clad in a chiton and himation as Cybele and refers the statuette to the 3rd century AD.

120. Salmydessos - Midye.

Much damaged marble slab. Measurements: height 0.23 m, width 0.07 m, thickness 0.04 m.

In the town museum, No 2385 dir.

Taşliklioğlu, *o.c.*, 69, fig. 45.

The Goddess is dressed in a tight-fitting chiton and a himation which covers her head as well. The publisher sees something 'similar to Cybele's crown' on her head. The left hand is missing, while the right holds a wreath (?).

Taşliklioğlu dates the slab to the late Roman era.

121. Perinthus.

Small stele with a pediment shaped like an *aedicula*.

Dumont-Homolle, 370, No 62 b 22; Seure in *BCH*, 1912, 575, No 31, fig. 18.

The stele features 'a seated Cybele with a lion in her lap.' The throne is unusually large. The execution, in Dumont's opinion, is primitive and ar-

chaic. Seure is quite justified in indicating the traditionalism, and not the archaism of the style. His personal inspection of the relic entitled him to state that the Goddess is holding in her lap a hare and not a small lion, and also that the representation here resembles closely the monument to Cybele from Bucharest (II, 77 in the present study).

122. Perinthus.

Stele with a pediment.

Dumont-Homolle, 398, No 74 z 17; Seure, *o.c.*, 575.

According to the publisher, the stele shows a seated Cybele with a small lion in her lap. It is executed in the archaic style. Seure indicates that here too the representation is of a hare, and not of a small lion; the iconography too is traditional and not archaic just as in the case of II, 121. In their details the two monuments belong to the Asian cycle of the Great Mother and represent the link between the Asian and the European monuments to the Goddess in Seure's view.

The Hellenistic age.

123. Perinthus.

Plate XLIX

Marble statuette, its top right corner chipped off and its raised front part much damaged. Measurements: height 0.305 m, width 0.16 m, depth 0.17 m.

In the Pergamon museum in Berlin, the section of antiquities, No 703. The photo was given me for inspection by the curator of the section to whom I express my gratitude.

Beschreibung der antiken Sculpturen, Berlin 1891, No 703; Dumont-Homolle, 398, No 74 z 13.

The Goddess is depicted seated on a throne with a high back and a lion on the right-hand side arm-rest. She wears a long, short-sleeved girt chiton and a himation which covers her head and left shoulder and falls in beautiful folds on her lap in keeping with the usual iconography. Below is to be seen the pleated edge of the chiton which leaves uncovered the slightly pushed forward right leg (the left one is broken off). The kalathos which crowns the Goddess' thick hair, is also damaged. In her right hand resting on her lap, she is holding a *patra*, while her left hand, broken off a little below the shoulder, had been raised to probably hold a *tympanum*. The statuette is the work of an experienced artist and is to be referred in Dumont's opinion, to the late Greek period, that is to say to the Hellenistic age.

124. Rhaedestum - Rodosto (Perinthus ?).

Low relief, 0.26 m high.

At the museum in Rodosto.

Dumont-Homolle, 402, No 76 L; Seure, *o.c.*, 575.

According to the publisher, the relief features Cybele seated between two lions. In Seure's opinion, this monument, as well as the next one, have originated without doubt at Perinthus and testify to a flourishing cult, as well as to the possible existence of a temple to the Goddess.

125. Rhaedestum (Perinthus ?).

Low relief, 0.35 m high.

At the museum in Rodosto.

Dumont-Homolle, 402, No 76 L; Seure, *o.c.*, 575.

According to the publisher, the relief has the same theme as the previous, that is to say the Goddess is portrayed between two lions with her right hand resting on one of the lion's heads. Primitively executed, in Seure's view.

126. Callipolis - Gallipoli.

Relief.

Mordtmann in *AM* 6, 1881, 265; Dumont-Homolle, *o.c.*, 432, No 100 k.

The Goddess is represented seated in full face with a small lion in her lap. On her head is a turreted crown. In her left hand she is holding a *tympanum* and her right one is resting on the throne.

The Hellenistic age.

127. Maroneia.

Slightly trapeziform marble votive tablet shaped like an aedicula. Measurements: height 0.26 m, width 0.19 m, thickness 0.115 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Kazarov in *AA* 1918, 40, No 2, fig. 45.

The Goddess is shown seated on a chair with a small lion in her lap. She is dressed in a long chiton and a himation covering her head. She wears a kalathos. In her outstretched right hand she is holding a *patera*, and in her left one—a big *tympanum*. Kazarov sees a parallel instance in one of the series of monuments housed at the Athens museum, which were made during the Hellenistic age and which resemble closely the monument from Perinthus II, 123 in the present study.

128. Abdera.

Plate XLVIII

Stone *aedicula*. Measurements: height 0.38 m, width 0.26 m, depth 0.125 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Kavala, No 452.

D. I. Lazarides in Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 1955, 162, Pl. 52.

The goddess is shown seated in a high chair. In her right hand she is holding a *patera* and in her left one—a big *tympanum*. At her left side, traces of a lion. According to Lazarides the *aedicula* is to be dated to the end of the 5th—beginning of the 4th century BC.³⁷

* * *

129. Provenance unknown (very likely from Philippopolis or its territory).

Votive tablet. Now lost.

It was first described by G. Seure. Its publication by Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1887, follows Seure's description.

According to the facsimile of the drawing, the publisher reads the dedication on the lower border as follows: *κυρίᾳ Μητρί* (?), but Mihailov is justified in doubting the reading.

The Goddess is shown between the protomes of two lions, in a manner of execution typical of the region (*cf.* II, 106-113). In the drawing the Goddess seems to be standing, but she is obviously highly reminiscent of the representation on II, 107, and the artist very likely wanted to depict her seated. In her right hand which is stretched out above the lion, she held a *patera*, while her left one is resting on a sceptre.

130. Aegean Thrace (provenance unknown)

Plate L

Bronze tablet (*matrix* ?). Measurements: height 0.065 m, width 0.05 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3849.

I. Velkov in *IAI* 8, 1932-34, 414, fig. 172.

The tablet has the outlines of two temple façades (*aediculae*) shown in relief; they each have two columns with Ionic capitals and pediments with *acroteria*. The *tympana* feature rosettes (shields, according to Velkov).

The left-hand side temple represents the Goddess seated on a throne between two lions; the one on her right is shown in full face, while the other is crouching to the right, its head turned to face front. She is dressed in a girt chiton and a himation, which covers her head and is as usual pulled up under her right arm to cover the lap in clumsily depicted folds. Her left hand is resting on a *tympanum* shown frontally, while her right hand is holding the himation in a gesture that is characteristic of cult monuments. On her head is

a low kalathos. The Goddess' face is sketchily depicted; the master craftsman has paid a great deal more attention to the execution of the clothes and the attributes. Her seated pose shows lack of perspective just like the Philippopolis parallels, and this may be quoted in support of the assumption that the tablet was locally produced. This tablet is distinguished from the Razgrad one by the separate *aediculae* (in the Razgrad tablet Zeus and Hera are represented in one and the same *aedicula*).

The right-hand side *aedicula* features a deity in the same pose and dressed in the same manner as the Goddess, but because of the flatter treatment of the chiton above the girdle, it might be taken for a male deity. Its left hand is resting on a sceptre topped by a crescent, while the raised right hand is holding an indistinct object. To the right of the deity is a figure, which I believe to be indistinct, but which is identified by Velkov as Anubis and, therefore, he describes the deity as Sarapis (see I, 58). Another bronze tablet (now in Paris, II, 131 in the present study) the relief on which is a complete parallel to the one under consideration here, gives me ground to claim with a great deal of certainty that the representation in the right-hand side *aedicula* is of the same goddess who is depicted in the left-hand side *aedicula*. Similar monuments with two *aediculae* were also dedicated to the Mother Goddess in Greece proper.³⁸

The parallel in the Bibliothèque in Paris affords an opportunity of identifying the figure next to the Goddess, as well as the indistinct object held in its hands (an ivy leaf).

131. Provenance unknown (Aegean Thrace?).

Bronze tablet shaped like an aedicula. Measurements: height 0.095 m, width 0.07 m.

At the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, No 616.

Babelon-Blanchet, *Cat. Br.*, 261, No 616 (non vidi); Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, No 108, Pl. LXXV.

The Roman age.

The Goddess is depicted seated; she is dressed in a chiton and peplos and has a veil on her head. Next to her left arm is a slim column which is topped by a crescent. In her raised right hand she is holding a big ivy leaf and in front of her is a beast with the body of a lion and the head of an eagle, standing on its hind legs.

This bronze tablet has a complete parallel in the preceding relic which was discovered in Aegean Thrace. The photo in *CCCA* does not show whether the columns are Ionic or Doric, but they have the same horizontal canelures as are to be seen on II, 130. In all likelihood, both tablets were made after one and the same model, but by different master craftsmen. In the relic under con-

sideration here, the figures are heavier and clumsier, but the details are more distinct. This parallel gives me ground to assume that the bronze tablet in Paris was made in Thracia, of which this type of monument was typical. It could have easily been taken by a Thracian legionary to Africa, which in the writer's opinion is its provenance.

132. The territory of **Philippopolis** (village of Markovo in the locality of Yassaka). Plate LI

Marble votive tablet in the shape of an irregular rectangle; the right-hand corner is missing. Measurements: height 0.136 m, width 0.115 m, thickness 0.03 m. The text: Βεῖθς ἱππεύς is discernible on the lower border.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 1919.

D. Tsonchev, *Prinossi kum starata istoriya na Plovdiv*, Sofia 1938, 119, fig. 132; Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1402.

The Goddess is obviously seated though the right perspective of a seated figure is absent. She is dressed in a girt, vertically draped chiton. The himation envelops the head and is pulled under the right arm to cover the lap; below it are to be seen the folds of the chiton. In her right hand stretched out above an altar, the Goddess is holding a *patera*, while her left is resting on a sceptre. Her identification is uncertain without the presence of the two lions typical of the monuments from this region.

133. Philippopolis = II, 19.

Pedestal in the form of an altar with an inscription and a partially effaced low relief, now lost, according to

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 910.

The relief depicted the Goddess seated on a throne next to which was to be seen a big lion. Under the representation, the following inscription:

Ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ].

Ὑπὲρ τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρ[ατόρων] Λ. Σεπτιμίου]

[Σεουήρου] Π[ε]ρτίν[αχος]----καὶ Μ. Αὐρ[ηλίου] Ἀντωνίνου]

From the co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198-211).

Actually, the inscription has not been lost, it is housed at the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3512. It was discovered at Odessos and is a doublet of the monument published in *IGB* III under No 910 (II, 19 in the present study). This is evident from the information of Mordtmann (*AM* 10, 1885, 321), quoted by Mihailov in *IGB* I², 90, but obviously not mentioned in *IGB* III, 910.

134. The territory of Augusta Traiana.

Lower part of a limestone altar with an inscription. Measurements: height 0.50 m, width 0.43 m, depth 0.81 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1190.

Kalinka, No 152; Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1685.

Αὐρ. Μουκίαν(ός)

μ(η)τ(ρί) τὸν βω-

μὸν

εὐχῆς ἔνεκ[εν].

The 3rd century, probably the first half.

The reading of $\overline{\Lambda}$ in $\mu\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}$ (on line 2) by Kalinka is doubtful especially when one bears in mind the absence of other evidence about the spread of the cult in the city and its territory.

135. Perinthus.

High relief. Measurements: height 0.37 m, width 0.21 m, depth 0.20 m.

Seure, *o.c.*, 577, No 32.

The Goddess is seated on a large throne, just as in II, 121, with a footstool under her feet. The head and arms are missing. In Seure's opinion, this is a representation of Cybele or a related goddess.

B. Interpretation**1. Historiography**

The cult of the Mother of Gods in Moesia Inferior and Thracia has not been so far the object of detailed research. It was G. Kazarov who for the first time interpreted some of the then known material in describing the religion of ancient Serdica; in this he followed the formulations of Cumont. In his opinion, the Anatolian Mother Goddess had come to ancient Thrace, as well as to Greece proper, in the pre-Roman period and was fused with a similar local goddess of the Creto-Mycenaean cultural community.³⁹ Somewhat later the monograph of Graillot offered a comparatively full for the time information and that is still being used (together with the article of Kazarov in Pauly-Wissowa⁴⁰) by presentday historiographers. On the ground of information from ancient tradition, Graillot has come to the conclusion that those Thracians who were akin to the Phrygians revered Kotytto and Bendis whose function and nature were similar to the Phrygian Great Goddess and who were later assimilated by her. It was not difficult for the Thracians to see in

Attis Pappas their own Dionysos-Sabazios, who was identified with Zeus the Father God and 'son of the Good Mother'. Graillot also introduced in circulation another set of data such as, for instance, those on the Thracians' veneration of Rhea-Cybele in caves, which seems even up to now not to have been fully researched in studying the Thracian Great Goddess, her similarities with and distinguishing features from the Cretan goddess and so on.⁴¹ In spite of this good ground, Y. Todorov has devoted very little attention to the goddess' cult in Moesia Inferior though scientific research had already available comparatively ample evidence. In Cybele, the Great Mother of Gods, Todorov sees an emigrant from Asia Minor on the strength of the information from the inscriptions from Nicopolis ad Istrum.⁴²

However, the Anatolian cult of the Great Goddess has suffered from a total lack of concrete or more general research. It was only in recent years that its problems attracted the attention of scholars and were included in the agenda of many scientific gatherings and have made possible the appearance of the *Corpus of the Cults of Cybele and Attis* by M. J. Vermaseren.⁴³

As is to be seen from the catalogue of the monuments, the information which is available to science today on the cult of the Great Mother in the two provinces, has increased severalfold since the monograph of Graillot. The study of the cult in the area of its diffusion and the set of new formulations in the interpretation of many problems, some of which have not as yet been resolved, provide the grounds for the present research into the cult and its relics from the two provinces.

2. Epigraphic Monuments. Names and Epithets of the Goddess

Only one epigraphic monument is known to us from the Hellenistic age and that is a decree dedicated to the Mother of Gods and the Dioskouroi in Tomi (II, 42).

In the Roman period some 25 certain inscriptions were dedicated to the Goddess in Moesia Inferior and 8 in Thracia out of a total of more than 110 certain monuments from the two provinces. The name of Cybele was unacceptably restored in two monuments (II, 85 and 95). The overwhelming part of the inscriptions is in Greek; only II, 1-4, 13, 14, 47, 49 from Moesia Inferior are in Latin, while the monument II, 101 from Serdica has inscriptions in both Latin and Greek.

The votive and dedicatory inscriptions constitute the predominant part; among them are also two public decrees in honour of priestesses (II, 46, 65), inscriptions related to reigning emperors (II, 19, 48, 49 from Moesia Inferior; 101, 104 from Thracia), two tombstones featuring Attis (II, 2, 3).

The monuments are predominantly marble slabs, votive tablets (nearly one third of the total number), altars and pedestals.

In the Hellenistic inscription II, 42, the Goddess is called Μήτηρ θεῶν, i.e. Mother of Gods. This designation remained traditional also for the Roman period in Moesia Inferior (II, 6, 11, 22, 46, 65-68 in the Greek inscriptions; mater deum in the Latin ones, II, 1, 4, 49) and in Thracia (II, 101, 104, 105, 114). There are isolated dedications to the Goddess (II, 7-θεά; II, 46-ἡ θεός), "the Mother" (II, 20), "the Mother Goddess" (II, 12).⁴⁴ The most frequently occurring among her epithets is great (II, 1, 49-magna; II, 5-μεγάλη) and that only in Moesia Inferior. The supplementing of this epithet in the inscription from Serdica (II, 101) is not all too certain.

The reading of the epithet πάντων δέσποινα in the inscription II, 50 from Tomi is not entirely certain. The epithets ἐπήκοος (II, 7, 50) and εὐάντητος (II, 7) occur rarely.

The name of Attis in its Latin transcription is attested solely in an inscription from Tomi (II, 47).

Out of the numerous ethnicons attested in Asia Minor, here are to be met only Ἰδεῖα (II, 5 from Nicopolis ad Istrum and, if the supplementing of the text is accepted, also II, 101 from Serdica). The ethnicon Σκελεντηνη occurs solely in Moesia Inferior (II, 6 from Nicopolis ad Istrum).

Some of the inscriptions are preceded by the formula Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (II, 5, 11, 12, 19, 22, 46, 65, 101).

3. *Archaeological Monuments. Iconography*

(a) In the pre-Roman period

The archaeological material includes reliefs and statues of marble, limestone, and terracotta, two moulds for terracotta statuettes (II, 23, 24 from Callatis). The general type adhered to in almost all monuments of this period has the following characteristic features: a young goddess seated on a high-backed throne with a stool under her feet, holding a small lion in her lap. The head is crowned by a kalathos below which is a triangular forehead framed by two long ringlets or tresses. She is dressed in a chiton and a himation (which sometimes also covers the head) pulled up under the right arm and across the lap and falling by the left knee. In her outstretched right hand the Goddess holds a *patera*, while the left supports or holds a *tympanum*, usually of a large size.⁴⁵ Very often the monument is shaped like an *aedicula*, which the upper part of the throne's back often recalls.

There are a number of deviations from this basic type. First of all should be noted the absence of the small lion in some of the monuments from Histria (II, 58, 63) and Callatis, and this is to be observed also in the monuments of the Roman age. In this connection, I would like to point to the substitution of the small lion by a hare in the monuments from Perinthus (II, 121, 122), and

this supports the thesis put forward by E. Will according to which the lion, typical of the Anatolian cult, was not obligatory for the Mother of Gods with the Greeks who did not know the animal and the importance attached to it in Asia.

Uniquely in the monument from Perinthus in the Pergamon Museum (No 123), the lion is depicted standing on the arm-rest of the Goddess' throne. She was quite probably represented between two lions solely in the much fragmented monument II, 41 from Tomi.

Among the iconographic deviations, I should also like to point to the cases in which the Goddess holds in her right hand a *tympanum* (II, 45, 64), and not a *patera*, as well as the only monument in which the Goddess is represented standing (II, 41) and not seated on a throne. However, this last monument was, if one is to go by the accompanying Hermes-Kadmilos and Zeus (Sabazios?), the product of an Anatolian studio.

Among the statuettes there are also such which have grooves in the upper part of the torso (II, 16, 32, 43, 59, 77) and in which a mobile head with a conical tip (see II, 26) was inserted. The opinion is current in Rumanian historiography that this kind of work had for its objective the separate serial production of torsos and heads which could be combined to represent various deities. This is acceptable for the terracotta statuettes of people or deities with similar iconography in Callatis, indicated by Canarache. It is, however, difficult to accept this formulation for the Goddess' statuettes since they all bear her principal characteristic features—the small lion in her lap or the *tympanum* which cannot be associated with any other goddess. In this sense, I am inclined to accept Soutzo's explanation about the necessity of changing the Goddess' head to suit the requirements of the cult ritual.⁴⁶ This practice in the making of statuettes was obviously abandoned in the Roman period.

In some monuments the Goddess is accompanied by *acolutes* who, in the relief II, 44 from Tomi, are depicted on the *antae* of the *aedicula* similarly to a number of monuments mainly from the Athens museum, but also from other regions of Greece proper, Asia Minor and elsewhere;⁴⁷ another statuette with a mobile head (II, 59) from Tomi features a kneeling female worshipper to the right of the Goddess; again in a statuette with a mobile head (II, 32) from Callatis the arm-rests of the throne end in front with Dorian columns.

The iconographic survey of the monuments from the pre-Roman period reveals the presence in the colonies along the Thracian littoral of a widespread—from the 6th century BC onward—iconographic type which originated in Ionian Greece from the interaction between the Greek and the oriental religious concepts and was adopted as an image of the Greek Mother of Gods.⁴⁸ These monuments, produced or imported in the areas under consideration, are therefore a testimony to the contacts of the colonies along the

Thracian littoral with Ionian Greece, to the presence there of Anatolian Greeks, but not of a direct Anatolian religious influence in the worship of Cybele.

(b) In the Roman age

Just as in the rest of the Aegean world, here too—in the cities along the Thracian littoral—the Goddess retained in this period as well her principal iconographic characteristics with partial modifications. One of the latter is the substitution of the small lion in her lap by two lions flanking the Goddess' throne (II, 19, 65, 69, 124); there are cases in which just a single lion is represented to the left (II, 50, 52) or to the right (II, 71) of the Goddess. Again, just like in the preceding period, there are monuments in which the constant companions of the Goddess—the lions (II, 20, 51, 53, 70, 72, 80) or the *tympaña*, are absent; the latter, as is to be seen, ceased to be an obligatory attribute of the Goddess. In some monuments, all qualifying details of the image are missing. While for some of them it can be assumed with a great deal of certainty that they were associated with the Mother of Gods (for instance, II, 38, 72, 73, 80, 120 and others), there are also such in which the link is precarious and uncertain (II, 87, 88, 96, 119-120, 132 and others).

The iconographic type of the Goddess so established did not penetrate the interior of the Thracian lands; this assumption remains in force in spite of the exceptions from Serdica (II, 103), Philippopolis (II, 117) and Aegean Thrace (II, 119, 130, 131). A specific iconographic type was established in these lands that is not, as far as I know, to be met with outside the area under consideration. It is to be observed in the reliefs on votive tablets from Moesia Inferior (II, 8-10) and Thracia (II, 106-114, 129) and has the following characteristic features: the Goddess is represented seated in full face, in spite of the fact that the upper part of the body, elongated out of proportion, creates the impression of a standing figure. The seated pose of the figure may be deduced both from the sculpted representation from Serdica (II, 102) and from the obvious broadening of the pelvis in many of the reliefs or from the monument from the territory of Philippopolis, in which the protruding knees of the seated figure (II, 114) are plainly to be seen. The absence of proportionality and of the three dimensions in the representation is easily explained by the inexperience of the sculptor, but could also be substantiated by considerations of a religious and historical nature.

The throne of the Goddess is practically nowhere to be seen, but the stool under her feet is often visible.

The Goddess is invariably flanked by two lions, represented by their protomes in profile and fitted into a heraldic pattern—here again we are faced by a phenomenon which may be explained just as much by the avoidance of the

difficulty of representing a lion's body in full face on a relief, as by older stylistic methods and religious traditions.

The Goddess is dressed in keeping with age-old tradition—she wears a chiton and a himation passing under the right arm and covering the lap. A kalathos crowns the head of the Serdica monument (II, 102), but it appears rarely on votive tablets (II, 9, 106, 108), while more often than not the head is enveloped by the himation or a veil.

In her outstretched right hand, the Goddess holds a *patera* for—rarely—a libation over an altar (II, 102, 110, 115), while her left hand rests on a sceptre—a new and obligatory deviation from the traditional pattern.⁴⁹ The only representation of a *tympanum* next to the sceptre in a monument (II, 115) from the territory of Philippopolis seems to suggest the sculptor's ignorance of the iconography and maybe of the cult ritual as well.

Some of the Philippopolis votive tablets feature a sketchily depicted tree (II, 109, 107).

From the comparative description of this iconographic type, it may be seen that it adheres to the pattern established during the Roman period, exc. for a number of deviations which testify to the influence of the Thracian ethnocultural community. This is where one should look for the appearance of the tree and the representation of the Goddess as a standing figure with a sceptre instead of a *tympanum* in her left hand, something that is very rarely to be seen in her monuments. Here is very probably to be felt the influence of the iconography used in the monuments to the goddess worshipped as Hera, sometimes together with Zeus, in the numerous (about 500) Thracian reliefs from the Roman period; in them she is represented standing with a sceptre in her left hand, making a libation from a *patera* over an altar, dressed more often than not in a girt chiton, but also in a chiton and himation⁵⁰ and with a veil on her head; as a matter of fact, the altar appears also on some of the monuments under consideration, to become almost obligatory in a number of monuments of the seated Goddess and the Thracian Horseman from the territories of the Pontic cities.

Of special interest in the monuments under review are the heraldically disposed lions depicted in profile. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the Roman period, first and foremost in a number of tombstones in the Danube limes from the 1st century AD onward; here the influence of older Anatolian religious concepts⁵¹ is sought for. This arrangement of the lions is rare for the representations on coins,⁵² but is to be observed on two official inscriptions (II, 19, 65)⁵³ from Odessos and Histria from the first half of the 2nd and the early 3rd century respectively. A detail in these monuments, as well as on the above-mentioned Danube tombstones, is the head of a bull or a ram under the lions' paws; a detail which is missing from the monuments under consideration. Some researchers are of the opinion that monuments of

this type may be linked with *taurobolium* or *criobolium*, while in the tombstones—as has already been pointed out—another kind of religious concept is sought for. As a matter of fact, the interchanging of an iconographic scheme linked with tombstones is not impossible, especially if one bears in mind the votive tablets with the Thracian Horseman. Here one should not forget the fact that the heraldic pattern was very much present not only in oriental art, but also in Thracian art of the pre-Roman period.

Among the relics of the Roman period is another group of monuments in which local Thracian influence may be established. These are the reliefs featuring the Goddess together with the Thracian Horseman (II, 39, 40, 55a, 56, 74, 75, 81, 82). Among them is just a single relic (II, 55a) which features the Mother of Gods in a scheme that is characteristic for the Roman age—in an *aedicula*, flanked by two lions, holding a *patera* and a *tympanum*. In the rest of the reliefs, in addition to the absence of lions, *tympanum* or *aedicula*, there crop up other iconographic deviations, among which should be mentioned the appearance of the altar over which the Goddess is making a libation, flanked by a tree with a snake coiling around it (II, 55a, 39, 40).⁵⁴ In one of the reliefs the snake is depicted drinking from the *patera* (II, 82); this detail is to be seen not only in the representation of Hygieia on monuments from Moesia Inferior, but also in a group of monuments to a couple of deities in which some see Celtic deities, others Cybele and Sabazios, and still others monuments of a local, non-Thracian population, subject to oriental religious influences.⁵⁵

On two of the reliefs (II, 39, 74), the Goddess is holding some kind of a vessel. In this connection, I would like to call to mind the representations of a goddess holding a vessel and seated facing a horseman, representations that have been found on pre-Roman Thracian and Scythian relics. Rostovtsev and Filov associate these representations with a high goddess in an investiture scene in keeping with political and religious concepts obviously shared by Thracians and Scythians.⁵⁶ What is more, many reliefs of the Thracian Horseman of the 2nd-3rd century AD feature representations of a goddess standing in front of him and wearing a *chiton* (and *himation*) and a veil, with a *patera* above an altar, or her hands raised in a hieratic gesture, whose nature has not as yet been fully explained. Kazarov believes that these reliefs have Greek prototypes, but he also points to parallel instances from Troy, Pergamum and Southern Russia. In one of the reliefs under consideration, the horseman is brandishing a double axe (II, 82), which is typical of the representations of the mounted Apollo and testifies to the link between the cult of Apollo and Artemis in Thrace and Asia Minor; the fact that in the area of diffusion of these reliefs, traces have been found of the worship of Apollo and Artemis Leto,⁵⁷ is not without significance.

The only relic linking the Goddess to Attis (II, 55) comes to show that here she was accepted in her Anatolian aspect.

The bronze tablet (II, 130) from Aegean Thrace with a double representation of the Goddess is of special interest because of the rarely occurring iconography which has a parallel instance in the monument of unidentified provenance (II, 131) with the same characteristic features. On another bronze tablet, this time from Thessalonica,⁵⁸ the Goddess is shown within two inscribed *aediculae* with *acroteria* and rosettes on the pediments. She is holding a sceptre in her left hand and is accompanied by a goddess and two *acolytes*. The three bronze relics show common stylistic and technical treatment.

A comparison between the representations in the double *aedicula* would show that while in the left-hand side one the goddess has all the iconographic particularities of the Roman period indicated above, in the right-hand side one the ivy leaf, the sceptre and the unusual representation next to her betray oriental influences.⁵⁹ In all probability, our tablet was a *matrix* for the fashioning of metal foils for the requirements of the cult ritual; it is quite possible that the two different *aedicula* were made to satisfy the wishes of worshippers of different ethnocultural areas.

In dedications and reliefs, the Goddess is associated with Zeus-Helios-Sabazios (II, 5), with Heracles (II, 20), with Theos Megas (II, 4), with the Dioskouroi (II, 42), with Pan (II, 39), with Tyche-Nemesis (II, 80).⁶⁰

A syncretism in the Goddess' cult with the Semitic goddess Urania (Caelestis) may be detected in the dedication from Marcianopolis (II, 11). A syncretism or an assimilation between two related cults may be traced in the relief from Novae (II, 4).

The representations in relief of Attis from the two provinces are very few. Only terracotta ones are known from the Hellenistic period—a figurine from Odessos (II, 18)—and several heads from Callatis (II, 92-94); the linkage of the latter with Attis is not all too certain, because the principal sign of identification—the Phrygian gap—could be related to other cult representations as well. A similar uncertainty also exists in identifying the head from Oescus (II, 84). In the terracotta from Odessos, Attis is represented in the conventional iconography—seated on a tree trunk, his feet crossed, wearing a chiton, chlamys and a Phrygian cap on his head. In his hands he holds a *syrinx* and next to him is a *pedum*.

Again in Moesia Inferior, during the Roman age, a tombstone was erected with its lateral sides decorated with two mirror-like, symmetrical representations of Attis, standing in full face, his feet crossed, wearing his typical Phrygian garb, and also with a *syrinx* and *pedum* (II, 3). On the tombstone from Oescus (II, 2), Attis is represented only on one side of the slab in his characteristic pose and garb, resting both hands on a torch (for Attis

funéraire, cf. II, 3 and note 1). He is represented with the Goddess in two different pictorial fields in only one monument from Tomi (II, 55).⁶¹

The only representation of Attis known to me from Thrace comes from Hadrianopolis (II, 118). This is a bronze statuette in which Attis, leaning on a column with a Corinthian capital, his feet crossed, holds a *syrix* and *pedum* in his hands.

4. Representations on Coins (Historical Interpretation)

So far the coins struck in the two provinces with the images of the Mother of Gods and Attis have not been an object of independent study from the point of view of quantity or frequency or from the point of view of characteristic events in political and religious life. As a matter of fact, they have been used by Graillet in his monograph, but only as a testimony to the spread of the cult, without indicating the obvious discrepancy between the numismatic information and that available from the epigraphic and archaeological material. Of course, at that time a comparatively limited number of relics were current in scientific research, but nevertheless how unsubstantiated even from the numismatic point of view seems to be, for instance, the assumption that there were temples to the Goddess in Mesambria and Anchialus!⁶²

The identified representations of the Goddess are invariably on the reverse of the coins; she is represented seated, with a kalathos on her head, wearing a chiton and himation and holding a *patera* and *tympanum*. There are issues which feature the head of a goddess with a turreted crown and a veil and these could be referred to the Mother of Gods since she was also revered as a city goddess, or to a local goddess⁶³ in syncretism with her.

On the coins from the Imperial age, the Mother of Gods was conferred one more attribute—the sceptre, which, in addition to the *tympanum*, is frequently to be seen in the hands of the Goddess riding on a lion. Of greater importance from the point of view of the Goddess' iconography in the sculpted monuments, is the appearance of the sceptre in her left hand—she is represented seated, holding a *patera* in her right hand and with a *tympanum* by her left arm, and flanked by two lions. Just as the Goddess, the lions are represented facing left, while the right-hand side lion is shown in its front part only. Such representations are featured on the coins from Histria minted under Alexander Severus and Elagabalus⁶⁴ and on the quasi-autonomous issue from Callatis.⁶⁵ On a coin issue from Marcianopolis, there is only one lion⁶⁶ next to the Goddess. In my opinion, the earliest coin issue with a similar iconography appeared in Philippopolis—there are coins from the reign of Antoninus Pius featuring a seated goddess holding a *patera* and a sceptre, but without the flanking lions;⁶⁷ her identification with the Mother of Gods is quite possible, but not entirely certain.

On a coin issue from Tomi featuring Caracalla,⁶⁸ the lions are represented heraldically, according to Pick's description; this is the only representation on coins from the two provinces to resemble the series of monuments from Philippopolis and its territory, featuring heraldically the protomes of lions (see II, 106-114). Another similarity between archaeological relics (the monuments from Callatis, II, 38, 39) and coins is the representation from Tomi⁶⁹ of the Goddess seated on a chair, and not on a throne, with her feet crossed.

Actually, even today, there is no epigraphic or archaeological confirmation of the spread of the cult in a number of cities which minted coins with the image of the Goddess; among them are not only Mesambria and Anchialus, but also Pautalia, Apollonia and Augusta Traiana, which is the only one from the area under consideration to have struck coins with the Goddess' likeness in a tetrastyle or a hexastyle temple.

Of no less significance is the inference from the available information on the opposite phenomenon, namely that in a number of cities where the cult and its societies have been attested epigraphically in the Roman era, at places by official inscriptions no less, only single coin issues are known, as, for example, in Serdica, Philippopolis, Perinthus, Odessos.⁷⁰ This observation is particularly valid for the pre-Roman period, when the cult enjoyed wide popularity in the cities along the Thracian littoral, while the coin issues of interest to us here are entirely missing; at the same time the Goddess appears on the reverse of most of the coin issues of the island of Samothrace as early as the beginning of the 3rd century BC.

If we also take into consideration the fact that the epigraphically attested high priests and temples (shrines) in Tomi, Histria, Callatis, Serdica and the territory of Philippopolis are not represented on their coin issues, it becomes obvious that the inference about coins featuring Egyptian deities is valid here too—the coin issues did not correspond to the scope of diffusion of the cult, but were subordinate to factors of an economic, juridical, political or social and psychological nature.

Thus, for example, though we have available from Callatis, Tomi and Histria epigraphic and archaeological evidence on the cult's diffusion that is more or less equal in quantity and value, from Tomi we know of over 40 issues with the Goddess' image, from Histria six and from Callatis only five. Without doubt, the basic reason for this must be sought in Tomi's economic and political potential which predetermined an intensive coin minting.

The influence of the cities' juridical and political status on their coin minting is variously manifest. In respect to the issues featuring the Goddess' image and the intensity of their minting, the coins that have so far come to light give ground for drawing a number of inferences.

First and foremost, the impression is created that, parallel with the Goddess' conventional iconography in the area under consideration to be observed in the archaeological monuments—seated on a throne, with a *patera* and *tympanum* (sometimes with a sceptre as well), flanked by one or two lions, on the coins she appears as a new iconographic type. Here she is seen riding on a lion on coins from a number of cities: Callatis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis, Serdica, Pautalia, Augusta Traiana, Anchialus, Deultum, Bizye, Hadrianopolis, Traianopolis.⁷¹ So far no archaeological relics of this iconographic type have come to light in the two provinces. Its presence on the coins from Nicopolis, Pick explains by the cult's affiliation to those imported from Asia Minor⁷² and in this particular instance the explanation is acceptable. But does it apply to Pautalia and Anchialus where there is no other evidence about the cult or about inhabitants of Anatolian origin? What is more, should this type be unreservedly linked with Asia Minor where it originated and was widespread from the reign of Hadrian?

For the problem to be clarified, one should first and foremost bear in mind the fact that the Goddess riding on a lion appears not only on a series of Imperial coins under Hadrian, but that this was also the invariable iconographic type of her representations on the *spina* in the Roman circus where cult celebrations and gladiatorial fights were organized in her honour.⁷³ She was represented in this same way on the coins from Nicopolis in Epirus from the period of the Severi up to Gallienus, undoubtedly in connection with the Actian games.⁷⁴ Secondly, I would like to point out that this iconographic type was the earliest for the coins of interest to us here in the cities of Callatis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pautalia, Deultum, Traianopolis, Serdica; it is the predominant type for the coin issues of Nicopolis, Pautalia and Hadrianopolis, and in Callatis it appears only on the Imperial coins, while on the quasi-autonomous ones the Goddess is represented in her conventional iconographic type. Not of the least significance is the consideration which takes into account the geographic diffusion of the coins featuring the riding goddess. It obviously is not directly related to the immediate and intensive contacts of the Pontic cities with Asia Minor. In Moesia Inferior, this iconographic type is altogether absent in Tomi, Histria and Odessos, while in Callatis it appears, as has already been noted, only on the Imperial coins, and not on the quasi-autonomous ones; it is particularly typical of Nicopolis ad Istrum, but occurs rarely in Marcianopolis. In Thracia the riding goddess is typical of only the cities founded by Trajan or those which received the status of colonies from him; that is the reason why Anchialus too, in contrast to the rest of the Pontic cities, has such coin issues as do Marcianopolis, Nicopolis and Bizye.⁷⁵

The observations outlined so far give me ground to assume that at least for the two provinces the representation on coins of a goddess riding on a lion,

was foreign to the local iconographic tradition, and was rather in the nature of an expediency. It was explicitly linked to the individual cities' legal status from which stemmed the degree of independence in their coin minting, and was obviously employed in demonstrating the adherence of the provincial cities to the empire's religious and political propaganda, because the cult of the Great Mother of Gods held, from the reign of Antoninus Pius onward, a pre-eminent place in the official Roman pantheon. The political grounds for the introduction of the Phrygian cult in republican Rome seem to predetermine this position of the cult, but it was further enhanced by the religious policy of Augustus and the Emperor Claudius with the Goddess' inclusion in the official version of the Trojan legend. The Graeco-Roman image of the Phrygian goddess appeared for the first time on the Bithynian coins minted under Hadrian and on the bronze medallions of Sabina. The work was given a final touch by Antoninus Pius who introduced reforms in the cult and officially inaugurated the *taurobolia* which were also dedicated to the emperors' good health and prosperity.⁷⁶

This Imperial religious policy had its outward manifestations in inscriptions from the two provinces from the reign of Hadrian onward (II, 65 from Moesia Inferior, and II, 101 from Thracia). The first coins with the Goddess' image (in the traditional iconography, without lions) were struck under Antoninus Pius in Thracia—in Anchialus and Philippopolis (?).⁷⁷ In the reign of Marcus Aurelius such issues appeared in Apollonia, Bizye and Hadrianopolis,⁷⁸ while a riding goddess appeared in Callatis and Pautalia; in Tomi the Goddess was accompanied by a single lion.⁷⁹ A coin of Lucius Verus from Augusta Traiana features the Goddess in her iconography that was characteristic for her in the Roman period, i.e. flanked by two lions.⁸⁰ It was under Commodus that the first coins with the Goddess' image were struck in Histria.⁸¹

The internal political situation created by the religious policy of the early Severi and most clearly detected in the monuments to the cults of the Egyptian deities and of Dolichenus,⁸² is reflected both in the monuments and the coins relating to the cult of the Mother of Gods. The coins featuring Septimius Severus and Julia Domna and minted in the cities of Callatis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Pautalia, Augusta Traiana and Anchialus bear the image of the Goddess riding on a lion; it was at Augusta Traiana that the only coin issues with the image of the Goddess in a temple⁸³ were struck in the area under consideration; on the coins from Nicopolis and Marcianopolis the Goddess appeared for the first time.⁸⁴ Very probably in connection with the passing of the Imperial family through the provinces or with the jubilee celebrations in Pannonia were struck the indicated rare coin issues and dedicated the three inscriptions to the victories, happiness and good health of Septimius Severus and his family in Tomi, Odessos and the territory of Philippopolis (II, 48, 19 with *criobolium* (?), 104).

The peak in minting the coins of interest to us here is referred to the reign of Caracalla when the riding goddess appears for the first time in Serdica and Traianopolis,⁸⁵ but we also see her on the successive issues minted in Nicopolis ad Istrum, Hadrianopolis and Pautalia, where the only coin issue for the area under consideration was minted showing the Goddess in a biga;⁸⁶ she is seen flanked by two lions on coins from Tomi, Marcianopolis, Augusta Traiana, Anchialus and Hadrianopolis.⁸⁷ These are the two preponderant types, while there are isolated coin issues from Tomi and Hadrianopolis⁸⁸ with one lion or without lions.

The next almost as high a peak in coin minting was under Gordian III when Odessos and Perinthus struck their only issues (the Goddess is flanked by two lions); in Marcianopolis the same representation is on the reverse of the coin, whose obverse features Gordian and Sarapis;⁸⁹ Anchialus struck the only certain issue in the two provinces with the coins showing Attis⁹⁰ next to the Goddess; in an issue from Hadrianopolis, next to the Goddess riding on a lion, is an unidentified male figure; a coin issue has come from Callatis featuring the riding Goddess; flanked by two lions, she appears on coins from Tomi, Callatis, Nicopolis and Deultum.

Under Philip the Arab, similar coins were minted only at Tomi, Deultum, Bizye and Mesambria (a one and only coin issue),⁹¹ while the last coin issues for the present are those from Tomi minted under Philip the Younger.⁹²

The Mother of Gods is particularly frequently to be met with on the coins minted in honour of the empresses throughout the Empire. Having first appeared on coins of Faustina the Elder,⁹³ the Goddess also won a place on the coin issues of the empresses in our cities as well, and especially in Tomi. Coins of the Younger Faustina with the Goddess' likeness were minted at Callatis and Philippopolis (?);⁹⁴ of Lucilla (in the last years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius) in Tomi and Anchialus;⁹⁵ of Crispina in Tomi;⁹⁶ of Julia Domna in Tomi, Histria, Callatis, Marcianopolis (the empress with Caracalla);⁹⁷ of Plautilla and Ottacilia (with Philip the Arab) in Tomi.⁹⁸

In the quantity and variety of coins that have come to light, as well as in the number of cities which minted them, the cult of the Mother of Gods ceded precedence to the Egyptian cults in spite of the fact that it was more popular if one is to go by the other evidence. The continuity in coin minting may be traced for a short time only in Tomi (from Marcus Aurelius to Macrinus), in Nicopolis ad Istrum (from Septimius Severus to Elagabalus), in Anchialus (from Commodus to Caracalla) and in Augusta Traiana (from Septimius Severus to Macrinus). The Goddess' representation is invariably on the reverse of the coins.

The greatest number of coin issues with such representations were minted by Tomi; among them predominate those of the Goddess seated on a throne, depicted in the customary iconography, but without the lions (from the reign

of Commodus 11, from that of Septimius Severus 8, from that of Caracalla 6, and from that of Geta 2). The rest of the cities have more often than not three issues for each of the various emperors, with the exception of Marcianopolis (the same number of issues under Septimius Severus).

Among the quasi-autonomous coins of Tomi for the period preceding that of the Antonines (it was the only Pontic city to have been granted the privilege of minting coins in the 1st century AD), there are several series which Pick relates with more or less certainty to the Goddess. These coins carry on their obverse the representation of a female head with a turreted crown, sometimes veiled, and which could be linked just as much with the Mother of Gods as with Tyche or the local city goddess. The representations of the symbols of the Dioskouroi on the reverse cannot be of help in the identification since various obverses show them to be associated with other deities as well. In this respect the only exception is the representation on the reverse of a lion,⁹⁹ which in Pick's opinion identifies the Goddess with certainty. These series of quasi-autonomous coins are referred to the reign of Caligula, Claudius and the Julian-Claudian dynasty¹⁰⁰ or the pre-Antonine period,¹⁰¹ according to Pick.

It is quite possible that all these coin issues may have been linked with the cult of the Mother of Gods, which was very popular in Tomi since she was also revered as the protectress of cities.¹⁰² If, following Pick, we should accept as certain only the issue with the lion, which in my opinion is not a certain mark when bearing in mind that it is absent most frequently from the issues from Commodus onward, then the worship of the Goddess may be assumed to have been reflected on the reverse of the coins through the symbols of the Dioskouroi; the two cults were linked in the city as early as the pre-Roman era (see II, 42). It is obvious, however, that the traditional iconographic type, which became prevalent in the Pontic cities as early as the 6th century BC and was reproduced on numerous replicas, is missing from the coins of the pre-Antonine period.

This absence in all probability is not at all accidental when one has in mind that the iconographic type in question is a starting point in the representation of the Goddess on coins from the period of the Antonines onward (only the sceptre was added to the attributes of the Goddess in it); this assumption could be backed up by the fact that the Goddess on the obverse of the quasi-autonomous coins has no attributes whatsoever. I am of the opinion that these particularities should be again taken in conjunction with the regulation of coin minting in the provinces by the Roman authorities which officially recognized the cult in the province's maritime capital (as well as in Philipopolis) and put the official seal of approval on the iconographic type in connection with the religious policy of Antoninus Pius.

The present survey of coin minting in the two provinces with respect to the issues with the image of the Mother of Gods has shown a number of par-

ticularities which are also to be detected in the coin issues featuring Egyptian deities; of definite importance is the observation that the issuing of coins, though of a varying intensity, has peaks shared in common, something that was underscored by the rare issues of the two types of coins. If one bears in mind the official encouragement of the two cults on the part of the emperors from Antoninus Pius onward, then it would probably not be far from the truth to make the assumption which stems from the analysis made thus far: the coin issues featuring the Mother of Gods in the two provinces stemmed from and were subordinate to the same ideological and political considerations which clearly and unequivocally motivated the coin issues bearing the likenesses of Egyptian deities (see about them I, B, 5).

5. The Cult and Its Organization. Cult Practices, High Priests, Shrines

Regulated and encouraged from the time of Augustus onward, the Romanized cult of the Great Goddess of Pessinus had a centralized hierarchy attested most fully in Rome, Italy and the provinces of Gaul.¹⁰³ From there has come the epigraphic testimony on the supreme collegium of the quindecimviri, which in Graillot's opinion must have existed in all Roman colonies; this collegium has not been attested epigraphically in our two provinces. Information is likewise lacking about the archigalli who, in addition to the high priest, were the intermediaries between the Goddess and her worshippers—private individuals, collegia or cities.

Every temple of the Goddess had a priestly collegium of both sexes or at least a high priest, who occupied a distinct place of their own in the municipium's public life. They were elected by the city for its own requirements and also to act as its representatives before the Goddess. Epigraphic data on the high priests in the two provinces are few and come predominantly from Moesia Inferior. Very probably in the second half of the 2nd century AD the priestess Ἀβὰ Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Εὐξενίδου, who belonged to the upper strata of society, was honoured by a public decree in Histria because of her generosity on the occasion of the Goddess' spring festival (II, 65). Again in the 2nd century, the citizens of Tomi honoured with a public decree the priestess Σοσσία Ἀφρικ(ανή) of non-freedman's origin, but affiliated to the affluent strata of the municipium since she was the wife of the agoranomos (clerk of the market) (II, 46). A high priest Παλλίων Παλλίωνος was at the head of the priestly collegium in Tomi which dedicated a decree to Septimius Severus and the Imperial house (II, 48) in 200-201. The high priests at the Metroon in Callatis have not been attested epigraphically so far, neither have been those linked with the dendrophori in Troesmis (II, 13). From among the rest of the cities in the limes, epigraphic evidence has come down to us only about a high priests from Novae, L. Oppius Maximus (II, 4).

In Thracia, there is direct evidence about high priests only in Serdica and that is the dedication of the high priest M. Iu[....]ninus from the reign of Hadrian (II, 101) and whose inscription was re-used by a cult collegium in the period of the Severi. The name of the high priest was placed on the left-hand side of the inscription, now lost. Testimony about high priests is to be found in the inscription II, 104 from the territory of Philippopolis, which imparts information about a temple and cult statue of the Goddess donated by her rich worshippers (today it is difficult to establish if the high priest was one of them, since the relic has been lost and the reading is after an old and not very precise facsimile). As is to be seen from the available material, the Goddess' high priests (chosen from among the members of her collegia) in the two provinces were free men. The high priestesses as has been established from the practice in other Roman provinces, were of free origin, but also freed slave women belonging to the rich families of the municipal aristocracy. This choice was made in the expectation of generous gifts from them, as well as of material support for the cult's needs.

Unavoidably connected with the cult practices were the collegia of the cannophori and the dendrophori. As their names imply, they were linked with the Goddess' festivals on March 15 (Canna Intrat) and on March 22 (Arbor Intrat). So far such a collegium has been attested for Tomi alone (II, 48) where ἀρχιραβδουχῖσα is translated as *princeps cannophorarum*. It is obvious that they also existed in the rest of the cult centres with attested cult societies.

The collegia of the dendrophori in the two provinces are known to us from inscriptions from Novae (II, 4), Troesmis (II, 13), Tomi (II, 47, 48) and Serdica (II, 101) by the listing of their leaders—archidendrophori (II, 47, 48) and the so-called fathers (II, 48) and mothers¹⁰⁴ of the dendrophori (II, 13, 48, 101). The link of subservience between the dendrophori and the guilds of the timber merchants, attested in the Western provinces, is not obvious here but is assumed by Graillot for the Danubian provinces. Our collegia evidently were of the ancient type of the Greek and Anatolian thiasos. The fathers and mothers obviously were of a higher rank than the archidendrophori (see under II, 48 and 101), but were subordinate to the high priests. They enjoyed a particular religious and public prestige in the Roman cities and ceded precedence only to the Augustales. The members of the collegia belonged to different social strata—from slaves to municipal aristocrats of free origin. As far as I know, it is only in our monuments that the categories of μεμύισαα στολίδος, μυστήριαι have been attested in the inscription from Serdica (II, 101) and of σεμνοὶ γυναῖκες in inscription II, 65 from Histria.

Cult organizations of obvious Anatolian origin and which could be linked with the Anatolian Mother of Gods, are those designated with the term.tech. of *dumos*. The term has been attested in Greek and Latin in inscriptions from Serdica (II, 101) and Tropaeum Trajani (II, 14). Outside Asia Minor, they are

so far known only in our provinces, and it was again here that the only epigraphic evidence of the collegium of the *dumopireti* (II, 4) was found at Novae. As I already had the occasion of pointing out (see under II, 14), the *dumos* very likely united worshippers of several allied cults and that is to be seen from the Anatolian inscriptions; there is no concrete evidence in them that the *dumos* was affiliated to the cult of the Phrygian Goddess. Solely the monument from Novae, dedicated explicitly to the Mother of Gods, links the *dumos* with her by way of the term *dumopireti*. According to me, it is also a confirmation of the opinion referred to above about the *dumos* as linking several cults through the universal representation of the Goddess—standing and devoid of her explicitly identifying attributes—the *tympanum* and the lions, as well as through the presence of the chthonian god. Be he the Great God (Θεός μέγας) or not, his image, also devoid of alternative attributes, is alien to the iconographic characters in the monuments of the Great Mother and suggests the fusion of a similar agricultural and probably local cult with hers. The term of *dumopireti* itself suggests a link with the cult of Anaïtis.

The *dumos* also had an internal hierarchy of its own. At the head were the father and mother of the *dumos*, who belonged to the élite of the initiated (*sacрати*) in the mysteries.

The only epigraphic evidence about a temple has been preserved in an inscription from the territory of Philippopolis (II, 104), but without doubt there were others at least in those places where data have been found on the existence of cult organizations.

The members of the collegia gathered together more often than not in special premises next to the temples, but also at other places in the open air. It is to be seen from the inscription of the patron of the archidendrophoros in Tomi (see under II, 47) that he was the owner of the grove linked most probably with the collegium of the dendrophori. As is to be gleaned from a number of inscriptions, the worshippers of the cult provided the necessary funds for the cult places and practices. The same may be inferred from the inscriptions from our provinces. The dedicators of the Philippopolis inscription (II, 104) from Thracia had made possible, out of their funds, the raising of a temple, a cult statue and an altar to the Goddess. The donations were accompanied by banquets for the members of the collegia given by the donors themselves. A very rare inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum (II, 6) mentions an altar and a *trapeza* dedicated to the Goddess. The table has, as is clearly shown by Goudeneau a magical and ritual significance.¹⁰⁵

There is no direct evidence on religious festivals in our provinces. The staging of the Goddess' spring festivals in Histria is assumed from the decree of the high priestess Aba (II, 65). As I already had the occasion of pointing out, the statuettes with mobile heads discovered in Callatis, Tomi and Histria (II, 16, 32, 43, 59, 77) were probably made for the different festivals of the Goddess.

Almost none of the important inscriptions on the cult of the Goddess in the two provinces has been preserved in toto. The official character of some of them, the dedications to the emperors, as well as the representations on them let it be assumed with a great deal of certainty that they were linked with *taurobolia* or *criobolia*. These religious rites, also associated with the cults of other gods in Asia Minor, were introduced in a simplified form by the Antonines in the Romanized cult of the Pessinus goddess, while Antoninus Pius himself obviously authorized the *taurobolia* for the prosperity of the emperor and the empire and it was performed publicly in Italy, the provinces of Gaul, in Spain and Africa. Public *taurobolia* in honour of the emperors are mentioned in a number of inscriptions which begin with a dedication to the good health of the emperor, his family and house, the senate, etc., and end with the announcement of a *taurobolium* or a *criobolium*¹⁰⁶ performed. The same kind of dedication is contained in a number of inscriptions from the two provinces—from Tomi in the reign of the Severi (II, 48), Serdica (II, 104), the end of which is missing but which very probably carried a text on a *taurobolium* performed. Even less well preserved is the text of the inscription (II, 19) from Odessos, in which the dedication to the emperors, as well as the relief showing a lion with its paw resting on the head of a ram, suggests a probable *criobolium* in honour of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. A similar relief is featured on the decree in honour of the high priestess Aba from Histria (II, 65), for whom a *taurobolium* was performed in all likelihood when she was given the rank of priestess.¹⁰⁷

Gladiatorial games were also organized on the occasion of the Goddess' festivals. It is quite possible that the relief with circus games from Serdica (II, 103) should have this kind of connection with the Goddess.

The practice of the Goddess' cult also included incubation; there is just one among our inscriptions which could be linked to this practice (II, 7 from Nicopolis ad Istrum). According to an inscription (II, 49) from Tomi, the dux of Scythia Minor took the omens in connection with the cult of the Great Mother of Gods. It is well known that as early as the period of the Antonines, the proconsuls consulted the oracle of the goddess Caelestis as soon as they arrived in the province of Africa.¹⁰⁸

The inscriptions that have come down to us from Moesia Inferior testify that the dedications and votive offerings to the Goddess were made to the health and safety of the emperors as much as to that of the individual dedicators (II, 5 from Nicopolis ad Istrum, II, 13 from Troesmis, II, 47 from Tomi). The inscription from Troesmis indicates that it was dedicated not only to the good health, but also to the safe return (*reversus ad lares suos*) of the veteran. Other instances attest that the Goddess was called upon to safeguard the good health of private travellers, as well as to ensure the victorious return from a campaign of an emperor.¹⁰⁹

6. *Ethnic Origin and Social Status of Dedicators*

The large number of relics testifying to the spread of the cult in the two provinces notwithstanding, it is difficult to present a full and precise characteristic of the ethnic origin and social status of the devotees. The difficulty arises mainly from the small number of inscriptions, as well as from the scanty information they provide on the point of interest to us here since they are predominantly in Greek. The almost total absence of typically Thracian names in the inscriptions creates the ostensible impression that there were no worshippers among the local Thracian population. Ostensible, because a large part of the votive relics have no inscriptions. Among them are monuments in which the iconography of the Goddess is unique for the entire area of diffusion of her cult, and these are the reliefs from the territory of the present-day Dobroudja, reliefs in which the Goddess is represented together with the Thracian Horseman (II, 39, 40, 55a, 56, 74, 75, 81, 82). In them she seems to have supplanted the anonymous, unidentified goddess who often occupied the right-hand corner of the votive tablets in relief of the Horseman; this is most plainly to be seen in a number of relics from Odessos, relics which pertained to his oldest shrines.¹¹⁰ And if in these relics, which were a product of Greek city-state art, an indisputable Thracian influence¹¹¹ is to be ascertained, it is even more strongly felt in the above-mentioned series of monuments to the Mother of Gods from the present-day Dobroudja, monuments in which only the gesture of libation from the throne has been more often than not retained from her Graeco-Roman interpretation. Of importance for the syncretism effected here is also the similarity of the Thracian Horseman with the mounted Sozon or Apollo of Asia Minor. The absence of dedications, as well as of the names of the dedicators in these monuments could provide ground for my assumption that the dedicators were members of the numerous Thracian population in the area rather than immigrant or naturalized Greeks and Anatolians.¹¹²

Another group of votive reliefs which could be linked with dedicators of Thracian descent are those which have been discovered in large numbers in Philippopolis and its territory (II, 106-113) and sporadically in Serdica and Moesia Inferior (II, 102, 8-10). As has already been pointed out, these relics have no parallels as iconographic types among the representations of the Goddess from the entire area of the cult's diffusion.¹¹³ Only some of them have inscriptions (II, 8, 102, 109, 113, 114) and the greater part of the latter are illegible. The one from Serdica, though without dedication, bears just the name of the Thracian Δειδης Διζου (II, 102); from among all the monuments of this group, the votive relief alone, dedicated by Ἀπολλωνίδης (II, 114) contains a dedication to the Mother of Gods. This could be an indication that the monuments under consideration were dedicated to a local Thracian Mother Goddess,¹¹⁴ for the representation of whom was adopted the above indicated

original iconography, in which both Thracian and Anatolian stylistic influences may be detected.

The only Thracian to have been attested epigraphically with certainty was Δειδης Διζου from Serdica (II, 102). The paternal name of one of the dedicators on the inscription from Bogdanitsa (II, 104)—Βειθυς was widespread in Thrace¹¹⁵ and also in Asia Minor. So in my opinion it is more probable that the name's bearer as well as the rest of the dedicators with Anatolian names Μίκαλος Παπίου, Ἀντίφιλος Χρυσίππου¹¹⁶ should here come from Asia Minor. Of oriental origin, if his name is an indication to go by, was Φλ. Ἀσιανός the dedicator from Nicopolis ad Istrum (II, 5) and in all likelihood his fellow citizens as well: Ἀκυλῆινος Ποπλίου, Λούκιος Ἀνδρονείνου (II, 6, 7). Marcia Basilissa in the inscription (II, 13) from Troesmis was probably a freed slave woman and compatriot of her husband, a veteran from Amastris. Pointing to Anatolian descent could be the name of the high priestess Ἄβα (II, 65), as well as that of Nana of a member of cult collegia in Tomi (II, 48), unless it was meant as a theophoric name to denote 'mother' of the *dumos* of the dendrophori.

The rest of the Greek names in the inscriptions cannot be used in attesting the ethnic origin of the worshippers. To individuals of Italic origin belong the tombstones with reliefs of Attis (II, 2, 3).

The epigraphic data on the social status of dedicators and worshippers of the cult are also not always concrete or are entirely missing. In spite of all this, the direct and indirect data—no matter to what small degree—testify to the worship of the Mother of Gods among all social strata in the two provinces. Thus among the dedicators from Moesia Inferior there was a dux of the province of Scythia in the latest dated inscription (II, 49 from Tomi), members of the provincial aristocracy (II, 5, 65, 4?). To this same stratum also belonged the wives of veterans, in all likelihood freed slave women, from the inscriptions of Kopriva (II, 1), Troesmis (II, 13) and Tomi (II, 46), as well as the peregrines and free citizens in inscriptions from Tomi (II, 48) and Histria (II, 66, 68). Dedications to the Goddess were made not only by freed slaves (II, 1, 13, 14, 47?), but by actual ones as well, if one is to go by their single names (II, 11, 14?, 67?).

For the provinces of Thracia, information is even scantier. If in the bilingual inscription from Serdica one may see among the dedicators such with the status of slaves, as well as members of the municipal aristocracy (II, 101), the single names in the inscriptions from the territory of Philippopolis testify to a probable non-freedman's origin of their dedicators (II, 105, 114).

7. *Diffusion of the Cult. Chronology and Centres*

(a) In the pre-Roman period

The earliest epigraphic evidence to have come to light on the territory of the two provinces is the public decree from Tomi in honour of the Mother of Gods and the Dioskouroi (II, 42), which could be referred at the earliest to the 2nd century BC. On the other hand, we have a large number of statuettes of the Goddess from the Pontic cities to the north of the Haemus and they date back most of all to the Hellenistic age. Individual relics from Callatis and Histria have been dated to the 5th-4th century BC, while the moulds for terracotta statuettes from Callatis (II, 27, 28), to the second half of the 4th century BC and onward. According to recent research, the spread of the cult of Cybele in Histria may be referred to the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century.¹¹⁷ This information, as well as the Goddess' iconography in the monuments, suggest that the spread of the worship should be linked to the presence of foreigners or to imports from the Ionian cities in Asia Minor in the early period of the cult's diffusion.¹¹⁸ The moulds from Callatis testify to a wider spreading of the cult during the Hellenistic age and that called for a larger local production of terracottas.

One should not exclude here the possibility of influences in the diffusion of the cult coming from Byzantium and Heracleia Pontica. The cult of the Mother Goddess in these Megarian colonies was of long standing and very strong. According to ancient tradition, the argonauts raised on their return a temple to the Goddess at Cyzicus after consulting the oracle of Apollo, while in Byzantium the worshipping of the Goddess as Tyche Polias goes back to the city's founding. There was a well-known Metroon near Heracleia Pontica, while the veneration of the Goddess went back to the mythical age.¹¹⁹ The attested worship of the Goddess along the Thracian coast of the Propontis and the Aegean¹²⁰ had obviously spread also under the influence of these Megarian colonies. What is more, the Aegean influence of the ancient cult of the Mother becomes apparent likewise from the attested grottoes of Rhea-Bendis and Rhea-Hecate in Samothrace and near Aenos.¹²¹

The penetration of the cult is to be traced only to the settlements along the Thracian littoral. In spite of the attested intensive political and economic contacts with the Thracian hinterland in general and the kingdom of the Odrysai in particular, there is no evidence of a spread of the cult of the Goddess who was depicted in the contiguous areas with a small lion in her lap. The only evidence in this respect is the relief of the Odrysaeon Adamas in a cave on the island of Paros.¹²² The representations of Pan and the Nymphs (and maybe of Acheloios) in it suggest first and foremost the influence of the Greek Mother of Gods, but the three Nymphs and Acheloios are to be seen next to Bendis on

the Copenhagen relief, while in Roman times they were frequent companions of Zeus and Hera on the Thracian votive tablets.

In spite of the cult's popularity in Tomi, Callatis, Histria and Perinthus, the image of the Goddess is up to the present entirely missing from the autonomous coin issues of these cities. This fact comes to show in the first place that the Anatolian cult was alien not only to the Thracian population, but was not included in the colonies' official pantheon; what is more, there were no considerations of a political or economic nature such as which caused, for instance, the appearance of the likenesses of Egyptian deities on the coins of the cities during this same epoch.¹²³ An evidence of the enhanced public significance of the cult was the annual sacrifice to the Mother of Gods and the Dioskouroi in Tomi (II, 42) in the 2nd or 1st century BC and that must have been due to a fusion with a similar local mother goddess.

(b) In the Roman age

The Roman domination and the setting up of provinces to the south of the Danube brought about changes also in the diffusion of the cult of the Mother of Gods. Despite reasonable expectations of early traces of the cult in the Pontic cities, they are to be discovered there most generally in the 2nd century, while the exactly dated monuments are not earlier than the reign of the late Antonines. The earliest dated evidence is the monument from Kopriva (II, 1) of a veteran, which Gerov assigns to the Flavian age. What is more, the rest of the dated monuments from Moesia Inferior testify to the spread of the cult in garrison centres or in relation to military settlers (in Oescus, Novae, Troesmis, Tropaeum Trajani) during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The worship of the Anatolian goddess in Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis, as well as in the Pontic cities of the province has been recorded for the same period.

The spread of the cult in Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis should be attributed to the attested colonies of Anatolians whose presence is explained by considerations of an economic nature.¹²⁴ The cult's devotees in the Pontic cities were probably of the same origin—in the absence of direct evidence, this could be assumed on the ground of the conventional iconography of a number of monuments from Tomi, Callatis and Histria.¹²⁵ In Odessos, the presence of Heracles next to the Goddess is also attributed to Bithynian influence. By the number of monuments from the Pontic cities, dated with certainty to the epoch under consideration, as well as by their significance, it would seem that the cult had the greatest number of devotees in Tomi and Histria. In Callatis and Odessos the monuments are comparatively few in number; it is difficult to tell with certainty about Callatis since there is material from that city which is still unpublished.

Outside the cities along the limes and the littoral, monuments have been discovered only sporadically—at a road station between Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis (II, 8), in a Nymphaeum (II, 10) and elsewhere (II, 9).

The situation in Thracia had also changed. From the cities along the littoral, we have evidence only about Perinthus, but the cult obviously had penetrated into the interior—in Serdica and Philippopolis. The popularity of the Anatolian cult in Serdica was again due to the presence of Anatolian, mainly Bithynian settlers. Just as in Tomi, here too cult societies of long standing may be traced. There exists no verifiable onomastic evidence about Thracians and that is hardly to be expected given the ethnic affiliation of the worshippers discussed above. The Goddess' worship is epigraphically attested in Tomi (II, 49) at the latest—in the reign of Diocletian, while archaeologically it is attested at the latest in Serdica (II, 103)—in late antiquity.

The spread of the cult is also suggested by the theophoric names. The name of Metrodoros¹²⁶ was particularly popular in the Pontic cities and also in Thracia, just as other derivatives of μήτηρ, i.e. mother. From papas (an epithet of Zeus and Attis¹²⁷) were derived many theophoric names as well. It is quite probable that Λεωνάς in the dedication from Bizone (II, 22) was a theophoric name, just as the name of Nana,¹²⁸ borne by women who had a leading position in the cult collegia, and also the rarely occurring name of Attis.¹²⁹

One may judge with any degree of certainty about the centres of the cult's diffusion only from the epigraphic evidence about cult collegia and high priests. From it one may see that in the period of the Antonines, the strong, Romanized cult flourished at least in Serdica, Novae, Tomi, and Histria. The age of the Severi marked the cult's peak and that has been attested epigraphically, archaeologically and by way of the coin issues. Taking into consideration the ideological, political and economic background of this phenomenon (the official backing of the cult, as well as the economic prosperity of the provinces), one could indicate with certainty the following cult centres: in Moesia Inferior, Troesmis and very probably Novae along the limes, Histria and Tomi along the littoral, as well as Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis and Tropeaem Traiani in the interior; in Thracia—Serdica and the territory of Philippopolis.

It was through no accident that the two big groups of monuments were omitted from this survey of the centres, for in spite of their iconographic similarity with the Graeco-Roman image of the Anatolian mother, they obviously do not belong to her cult owing to the considerations listed above (see II, B, 3b). One of the groups is more often than not anepigraphic (or with dedications to the mounted deity) votive reliefs on which a goddess is represented seated in the act of libation, facing the mounted deity. If one bears in mind the already indicated, earlier parallel instances of this group

made up of a goddess and a horseman from the same area and from Southern Russia, there is hardly anybody who would doubt the existence of a Great Mother Goddess who was different from the Anatolian and whose presence on the Horseman's reliefs is attested at the earliest here, on the Pontic littoral. The unquestionable influence of the iconographic type of the Mother of Gods, a type which originated in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, is particularly plainly to be seen in a monument from Tomi (II, 55a) in which the Goddess has all the iconographic characteristics of this type. In the rest of them, however, she is divested of her invariable attribute, the tympanum. The presence or absence of the accompanying lions is of no decisive importance in this case, because they, the lions, are also missing in the Goddess' Anatolian monuments. Whether these monuments were dedicated by the compact population of the Thracian tribe of the Bessi in the area, or by the non-Thracian population which had felt the influence of their cult (because of the similarity between the rider god and the Anatolian Apollo, Sozon, etc.), it is difficult to link them to the cult of the Anatolian Mother Goddess precisely because of the absent *tympanum*. The *tympanum* was a must for every festive procession and was a symbol of the cult's very essence.¹³⁰ This absence is a point of crucial importance in identifying the Goddess' cult as preserved in the reliefs under consideration. It comes to suggest that the cult here was not accompanied by the celebrations and boisterous processions of the Phrygian goddess that were similar to the *Bendideia* and the *Kotyttia* which the Athenians witnessed.¹³¹

The other group are the reliefs of the seated Goddess with a *patera* and a sceptre flanked heraldically by lion's protomes. The finds indicate Philippopolis and its territory as the centre, but votive offerings have also been discovered at Serdica dedicated by a Thracian, and in presentday North-eastern Bulgaria. They betray even more prominently the characteristic features of the conventional Graeco-Roman iconography of the Romanized Anatolian Mother Goddess, but nevertheless there are important deviations. One of them is the ever-present sceptre which reveals the Goddess' elevation as a high goddess, as well as her association with the Thracian goddess who was of equal importance with Zeus and was represented on the Thracian reliefs of that same epoch as Hera. A proof of the powerful Thracian cult of this local high goddess on the territory of Philippopolis is the shrine at the village of Dyulevo (where relics II, 111, 112 were discovered), as well as the image of the chthonian goddess on the Philippopolis coins, a goddess who was also Tyche Polias of the city. Her cult had a number of features which brought her close to the Aegean cult of the Mother Goddess.

The *tympanum* is missing from this group of monuments as well, and that widens the gap between the cult they represent and the Phrygian one. Is it not possible that the Thracian high goddess they portray was so well known that

her name needed no mention in the votive offerings (or was she maybe anonymous) and did she not conceal in the heraldry of the lions the memory in the Thracians of the powerful Potnia Theron (queen of wild beasts), a memory that was weighed down by her anthropomorphized figure? This assumption may yet be proved true by the specialists. The adoption of the Graeco-Roman iconography (in all likelihood under the influence of the diffusion by the Anatolians of the image of their goddess (see II, 104, 115) on the territory of Philippopolis) suggests that this Great Goddess was also a Mother Goddess who, again because of the absence of the *tympanum*, cannot be assumed to be a hypostasis of Bendis,¹³² whose festivals resembled, in Strabo's opinion (X, 3, 16), the Phrygian ones.

8. *The Thracian Cult of the Great Mother Goddess*

The interpretation of the data obtainable from the monuments associated with the Mother of Gods does not follow the order adopted in the present study for the problems under consideration. It did not begin, but ended with the problem of the cult's diffusion because, in the process of work, it became clear that the interpenetration between the local Thracian cult and that of the Anatolian Mother Goddess was very much complicated by the atavistic pantheism of the Thracian cult and by the syncretic nature of the Anatolian cult in its Graeco-Roman variant. It became obvious that the final picture of the diffusion could claim validity only under the condition that the observations made on the information obtainable from the sources about shrines and cult organizations, about the social background and ethnic origin of the dedicators, about the iconographic particularities of the monuments and the coin issues, are also taken into consideration. The basic inferences made in the present study are not put forward with the claim of offering a final solution to the problems, but of laying the groundwork for an interpretation of the oriental cults in the two provinces, an interpretation observing first and foremost their association and interaction with the Thracian religious concepts and cults. To the absence of an established tradition in this respect should in the first place be ascribed a possible over-interpretation, as well as an overlooking of certain phenomena in the sources.

In actual fact, the basic inferences in the study are two and they sum up in the most general manner the observed and interpreted particularities in the presence and diffusion of the cult of the Mother of Gods in the two provinces. Naturally, first comes the inference which touches directly on the subject of the study, namely that the monuments of the pre-Roman period have evinced the penetration of the cult mainly in the Pontic cities of the Thracian littoral by way of Ionian Greece. There the cult retained its traditions in the Roman period as well, while its penetration in the interior was insignificant and was

associated with the presence of Anatolian communities in the cities and with the official political and religious propaganda. The rest of the monuments, which constitute the overwhelming number (among them are also those indicated as uncertain because of the absence of the typical attributes) suggest the existence of a strong Thracian cult of the Mother Goddess bearing the characteristics first and foremost of the ancient Aegean, and not of the Anatolian cult of this goddess.

The second inference deals with the problems which arose from the search for an interaction between the oriental and the local cults, taking into consideration also the observations of the monuments dealt with in this section, as well as those on the cults of Isis and the goddesses from the Razgrad plaques. This inference based on a retrospective analysis of the evidence, reveals in a new light the ancient Thracian cult of the Great Mother Goddess, whose pantheistic nature provides the solid ground for the syncretism, attested both in the monuments and in ancient tradition, with similar goddesses of the Creto-Mycenaean, Greek, Scythian, Egyptian, Anatolian and Semitic pantheons. The retrospective analysis, which emerged naturally and spontaneously in looking for influences on the ancient Thracian religion, was made previously by Rostovtzeff and by Detschew also, but has been completely neglected in our presentday historiography. The juxtaposition of the information from the monuments and the scanty and very often disputed information, because of its incompleteness, supplied by the ancient writers, has brought forth the following inferences:

1. If one is to go by the epigraphic relics and the reliefs, the Thracian Mother Goddess reveals a closeness or affinity both with the Scythian goddess (indicated by Rostovtzeff) and also with the Greek Mother of Gods. This is to be seen not only in the entire or partial adoption of her iconography, but also in the attested affinity with the Dionysian thiasos, an affinity from which one may draw conclusions first and foremost about her agricultural and chthonian nature. Here I would like to draw attention again that the Greek Mother of Gods received her definitive orientalized likeness and name in Ionian Greece and that her essence was defined as early as the 6th century BC by the designation of Γαῖα παμμήτειρα, who as spouse of Uranus, was regarded as the mother of everything divine.

2. The Thracian Mother in the monuments under consideration shows a number of differences from the goddess of the 'Anatolian' cult. These differences become manifest in the absence of local ethnicons, of Attis in the legend of the Goddess' cult, in the lack of information about mysteries or the orgiastic nature of the cult. This latter difference is very important because it shows the distinction from the cults of Bendis and Kotytto, which if one is to go by the well-known passage of Strabo (X, 3, 16) were similar to the Phrygian mysteries in Athens.

3. The pantheistic nature of the Thracian goddess may be assumed with certainty on the basis of her identification with Isis in the Egyptian texts of the Hellenistic age. This characteristic of hers provides the solid basis for the phenomenon more often than not designated by the term syncretism in the Thracian monuments from the Roman period—the adoption of the iconography and names of goddesses such as Hera, Artemis, Hygieia, Athena,¹³³ the Graeco-Roman Mother of Gods, as well as of the syncretic high goddesses of the Anatolian and Semitic pantheons. It is my opinion that this phenomenon should be viewed not so much as syncretism, but rather as a way out in the attempt at bringing forth some of the varied and numerous functions and aspects of the pantheistic goddess because of the absence of her own iconography and characteristic attributes. This is a paraphrasing of what Detschew had to say in connection with the analogous phenomenon in the monuments to the Thracian mounted deity. Detschew explains it by the early influence of Greek religion which interrupted the formation in their own way of the various aspects of the god's worship.¹³⁴ What is more, this process became still less possible in the Roman period during which the syncretic phenomena made the Thracian goddess fuse with the newcomer goddesses in the Thracian pantheon, i.e. Atargatis, Anaitis, Mâ. Some recent research on the cult of the Scythian Aphrodite Caelestis and her links with the said cults¹³⁵ show that the Thracian high goddess was ready for this assimilation or identification as early as the preceding period. I should point out here again something that has already been indicated, i.e. that in these processes of assimilation with the new goddesses of the Anatolian-Semitic pantheon, as well as with Isis,¹³⁶ the local Thracian goddess is almost without exception Artemis.

In looking for an explanation for this last phenomenon, one invariably comes to the passage in Herodotus on the gods of the Thracians in the fifth book of the *Histories* (V, 7). This passage, used as evidence in assumptions which contradict one another and sometimes even the text of Herodotus himself, will be used here with a twofold end in view. The aim is as much to explain the assumptions presented so far herè, as to restore confidence in the passage in question, which has recently been accepted as trustworthy only in parts. It is to be seen from the text that Herodotus knew of only one female deity worshipped by the Thracians and he calls her Artemis (V, 7). Herodotus' knowledgeability allows for the inference to be made that if this deity had had a Thracian name, Herodotus would have used it, just as he gave both the Scythian and the Greek names (IV, 59) of the gods which the Scythians worshipped. That this goddess was a Thracian one, and not the Greek Artemis, Herodotus went to the trouble of explaining in another passage on the goddess Artemis-Ἄρσινε, worshipped by the Thracian and the Paeonian women (IV, 33). The contents of the text is exceptionally important, first and foremost

because one may judge from it about the nature of the goddess who was a protectress of women, that is to say, of motherhood and of all the rest of the activities connected with life and the role of women as protectresses of earth's fertility; therefore, this Thracian Artemis has every justification to rank among her contemporary heiresses to the ancient Greek Mother Goddess. What is more, it is to be seen from this same passage that her cult was a Thracian one, and at that not of Artemis in general, but of Artemis βασιλείη, and also that this cult was fused with that of the Letoides and was widespread from Scythia to the Adriatic to the west and to the island of Delos to the south. It could be inferred from the text that this Thracian high goddess was initially anonymous, but had by the time of Herodotus assumed the name of Artemis. This is not impossible when one bears in mind the different Artemises—the Ephesian, the Brauronian, the Tauropolian. Of the Thracian Artemis knew also Hesychius (s. v. Βενδῖς), who indicated that the Athenians called her Bendis (here I shall not indicate all quotations from this writer who is relied upon in a number of identifications with the exception of this one). While Bendis, as is to be seen from the most recent research, was obviously only a local hypostasis of the Thracian Great Goddess and her cult flourished in the 4th-3rd century in Athens and Bithynia, later along the Thracian Aegean coast and on the islands. I only find it difficult to accept Detschew's opinion, maintained at present too, to the effect that Artemis from the valley of the Strouma was also an heiress of Bendis. This seems incorrect owing to the duality in her iconography that has been indicated again by him; she continues to be bypassed in spite of the contemporary research into mythology, a research which offers opportunities for her interpretation. I have here in mind the perspicacious observation of Detschew, who indicated that the votive tablets to Artemis found along the valley of the Strouma show her to be hunting as well as protecting the doe,¹³⁷ that is to say life. It is in this phenomenon that the essence of the Thracian Artemis as a prehistoric Great Goddess was actually retained up to the Roman period.

III. THE CULT OF SABAZIOS

A. *Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments*

MOESIA INFERIOR (III, 1-7)

1. **Montana** (formerly Koutlovitsa, today Mihailovgrad).

CIL III 7448; Dobrouski *MSb* 16-17, 1900, 79; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 223, No 528.

Limestone altar. Measurements: height 1.07 m, length 0.42 m, width 0.28 m. Now lost.

Numini Sabazi(o) Cessicius
[.... Iu]lianus ex vo-
to posuit.

Domaszewski and Mommsen (CIL III 7448) and later B. Gerov and L. Vidman read the dedication in the inscription as Numini Sarapi.¹ Dobrouski, however, revises that reading and his reading has been accepted by Y. Todorov and me. B. Gerov has searched for the inscription, but to no avail since it obviously has been lost. The name of the dedicator betrays his Italic origins.² The use of numen for Sabazios is rather rare in the Sarapis monuments (see Vidman, *SIRIS*, Nos 535, 694). It establishes a relationship between the Thracian inscription and the dedication on the silver tablet of Vichy (Gaul). The god there is in syncretism with Jupiter and is represented in his interpretatio graeca: Numin(i) Aug(usto) deo Iovi Sabasio G. Iul(ius) Carassounus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).³

2,2 bis. Village of Touchenitsa, Pleven district.

Plate LI

A right and a left bronze hand, 0.125 m long.

I. Velkov and H. Danov in *IAI* I 2, 1938, 442, No 2, fig. 237.

The thumb, index and middle finger are extended and slightly apart, while the fourth and little fingers are bent down upon the palm. This gesture, which is characteristic of many other similar relics associated solely with the cult of Sabazios, is known as *benedictio latina*. Snakes coil around the wrists and their heads are pointed at the thumbs. In addition to the hands and wrists, these representations occasionally feature part of the forearm (*cf.* hand III, 7 which is shown to the elbow). Another find from the same site was, according to the publication, a small statue of Asklepius, as well as Roman coins struck

before the reign of Constantius II. In the writer's opinion, the hands were votive offerings to Sabazios. P. Gorbanov, however, does not share this view, but thinks that they used to be placed at an altar during cult ceremonies.⁴ There is more justification for the latter view and I adopted it before I had the opportunity of examining the hand from Tolbukhin district. I now believe that the unique presence of a right hand as well as of a left one and their small size set them apart from the rest of the hands which have been previously classified by H. Blinkenberg. As they carry no other symbolic representation but the snake, they fall into group C and have a close parallel in hand C 4.⁵ This classification notwithstanding, they should be regarded as having been fashioned separately and as being accessories to a representation of the deity itself, something that Blinkenberg points out in his study and believes that they were part of the bronze hands. The size of our relics precludes the possibility of assuming that they were part of a representation of the deity on another and bigger hand. I find it easier to believe that Sabazios' representation to which the two hands belonged, was a cult or a votive one. It is difficult to date the hands but a terminus ante quem may be fixed at 337 AD, while it is not probable that they should have been made after the end of the 3rd century.

3. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Limestone base. Measurements: height 1 m, length 0.48 m, width 0.46 m. At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 2258.

Mihailov, *IGB* II, 677.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
Μουκαζενις Αὐλου-
κενθου θεῷ ἐπη-
κόω Σαβαζίω Ἀρ-
σιληνῶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ.

The name of the dedicator is entirely Thracian. The ethnicon Ἀρσιληνός is Thracian and is a derivative from the name of a locality.⁶

4. Nicopolis ad Istrum = II, 5.

Limestone altar built into a house at Nikyup and chipped on all sides. Visible measurements: height 0.50 m, length 0.38 m.

Mihailov, *IGB* II, 678.

[Θεᾶς] Ἰδέας μεγάλης
[καὶ τοῦ Διὸς] Ἠλίου μεγί-

[στ]ω Σεβαζ(ι)ω Α[ρσι]-
 5 [λη]νω Φλ(άβιος) 'Ασια[νός]
 ---ου βουλ(ευτής) ὑπ[έρ τῆς]
 [έαυτ]οῦ σωτηρ[ίας]
 [εὐχα]ρ[ι]στή[ριον]
 [ἀνέθηκεν].

The age of the Severi.

G. Mihailov points out that the change of case-endings in lines 1-3 is known from other Thracian inscriptions.

For the ethnicon of the deity see under III, 3. The name of the dedicator, as well as the dedication to Magna Mater Ideia evince his probable Anatolian origin.

5. *Pavlikeni (on the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum).*

Limestone base. Measurements: height nearly 1 m, length 0.41 m, width 0.44 m.

H. and K. Skorpil in *MSB* 7, 1892, 96 ff., No XIX, fig. 5; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 223, No 524; Gerov, *Romanizmut*, II, No 404.

Iov(i)
 Saba-
 dio
 et Mercur[i]o
 5 M. S[e]rvili-
 us Verecun-
 dus pro se e[t] suos
 votum posuit
 [l(ibens)] m(erito).

The age of the Severi.

The dedicator was probably of Italic descent. For the name Servilius see Schulze.⁷

6. Village of Vishovgrad, Turnovo district (on the territory of **Nicopolis ad Istrum**). Plate LII

Upper part of an altar. Measurements: height 0.60 m, length 0.58 m, width 0.57 m.

V. Dobrouski, *Arheologicheski izvestiya na Narodniya mouzei v Sofia*, 1907, 173, No 220; fig. 142; Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 223, Nos 525 and 526; Gerov, *Romanizmut*, II, No 399.

Iovi Sabadio
 et Mercurio
 M(arcus) E(nnius?) Celerinus
 pro se et suis
 5 v(otum) s(olvit).

End of the 2nd century AD.

7. Village of Krassen (formerly Karalii), Tolbukhin district.

Plate LIII

At the District Museum of History in Tolbukhin.

An ivory hand: 0.11 m long, 0.015 m wide at the wrist.

L. Bobcheva, *Nov pametnik posveten na koulta na Trakiiskiia konnik in Arheologiya* 7, 1965, 4, 35 ff., fig. 1-4.

3rd (?) century AD.

Executed with a great deal of skill and attention to anatomical detail, the hand was made to be viewed on all sides. It is sculpted to below the elbow and ends in acanthus leaves;⁸ there is a hole at the base for attaching the hand. According to the writer, the hand is holding a nutshell in which there is an open-work representation of a horseman. The horse is advancing to the right. The horseman wears a chlamys fastened on the shoulder with a clasp (a round fibula?). His hair is curly and he is shown in three-quarter view. He is holding a spear in his right hand and is driving it into a bear lying flat on its back, its paws raised in self-defence. The nutshell consisted of two parts—it had a cover affixed to it by a metal hinge on the one side and a small hole on the other for fastening it on. The hand was found together with some fine Roman ceramic articles, earthenware building material and a 4th century coin.

I have not examined it myself, but the photos as well as the copy (the only one available to me) show that the hand is holding a pine cone rather than a nutshell. In support of this is the gesture—the fingers enclose the cone in the familiar act of *benedictio latina*. All this, as well as the hole at the base give me ground to suppose with a good deal of certainty that the hand topped a sceptre such as is to be seen on the representations of Sabazios on the bronze reliefs in Copenhagen, Berlin, Philippopolis and elsewhere. If we accept P. Gorbanov's⁹ view that some of the bronze hands of Sabazios were not votive, but were mounted on the sceptres of the god's high priests, then this hand too must have belonged to a high priest's sceptre.

The hand in question is distinguished from the bronze hands that have come to light in the two provinces by the presence of the cone which is missing in III, 2, 2 bis and is featured on the tumb in III, 19. In this respect, it has its closest parallels in the relics found in Belgium and especially in the Brussels hand which is almost twice as big and holds the cone in the same manner.¹⁰ Reminiscent of this type of representations and, in my opinion, a link between

them and the hands in which the cone seems to grow out of the finger or is altogether missing, is the hand from Voissil (III, 18) and the hand from Jena in the Nemzeti Museum in Budapest.¹¹ In them the cone is comparatively smaller but is depicted in such a way as to create the impression of reproducing another in which the cone was held by the three fingers. These observations have led me to assume that this was how the act of *benedictio latina* must have been adopted, though the hand in question here is one of the latest of its kind. The fertility dispensing hand of the god symbolized by the offering of the pine cone, had gradually lost its symbolic meaning but had retained the characteristic gesture of offering (for the gesture see below, III, B, 3).

The horseman's representation in the cone is without doubt that of the Thracian Heros, although a number of conventional images are missing owing in all likelihood to the small proportions of the representation. To the best of my knowledge, the bear does not usually figure among the animals hunted by the Horseman, while on some monuments of the Thracian deity identified with Apollo or Asklepius, the bear appears in the same pose of a hunted animal in the lower sections of the reliefs.¹²

The close association between Sabazios and the Thracian Horseman which may be seen in other monuments from the two provinces under consideration, is of particular significance in drawing some general conclusions on the cult itself (see below, III, B, 6).

THRACIA (III, 8-24)

8. Serdica (today Sofia).

Plate LIV

Limestone altar, damaged at the top and bottom. Measurements: height 0.60 m, length 0.60 m, width 0.57 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 702.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1927; Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* III, 223, No 77.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ?]

Κυρίῳ Σαβαζίῳ

Αθυπαρηνῳ

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Διζας Λουκίου

5 ἱερεὺς ἀνέστησεν

εξ(sic) εὐχῆς τὸν ναόν.

After 212 AD.

Sabazios' ethnicon of Αθυπαρηνος is a derivative from a place-name.¹³ The god's high priest was obviously a Thracian who had been granted Roman citizenship by virtue of the constitutio Antoniniana.

9. Village of Bouhovo (on the territory of *Serdica*).

Plate LIV

Limestone altar broken in two. Measurements: height 1m, length 0.57 m, width 0.54 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 2870.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1955; Gerov, *o.c.*, 235, No 105.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ

Ἐπὶ πόσῳ θεῷ

Σεβασίῳ μητρι-

κῶ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀστικός

5 Φειλίου βοηθός

κορνικουλάρις

εὐξάμενος ἀνέστησ[εν]

εὐτυχῶς.

Early 3rd century AD.

According to R. Reitzenstein, the rare epithet of the god, μητρικός was derived from his close association with the Magna Mater.¹⁴ In Gerov's opinion (p. 190), this epithet could be an indication that the deity was revered here by women as well (this being evinced by the mention of the dedicator's mother). Both Mihailov and Gerov are justified in assuming the Greek descent of the dedicator who was adiutor cornicularii.

10. Village of Mramor (on the territory of *Serdica*).

Plate LV

Limestone altar built into a house. Damaged at the top and bottom. Measurements: height 0.93 m, length 0.52 m, width 0.42 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 2958.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2015; Gerov, *o.c.*, 227, No 28.

On the front part:

Διὶ Σεβασίῳ ὁ ἱερε[ὺς--?]

Μοκας Διζου ΤΩΝΕΚ---

κατεσκεύασεν καὶ ΔΟ---

5 ΜΑΙ ΩΝΙΩΛΑ----

vacat

---(-)αλος ἐποίηι

On the right-hand side:

[M]ο[υ]καλας Οἰμηδου

NIEIΣ

---? Ταρσας Ροιμου

----κενθος Μοχα.

2nd century AD.

As far as one can judge from the much damaged inscription, the dedicators were mostly of Thracian descent.

11. Village of Maslovo, today Obединение (on the territory of **Serdica).
Plate LV**

Limestone base of a column. Measurements: height 1.13 m, length 0.57 m, thickness 0.57 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 8113.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2023; Gerov, *o.c.*, 227, No 27.

Σεβαζίῳ ἐπηκόῳ
Π(όπλοις) Αἰλ(ιος) Ἰουλιανός
στρατευσάμενος ἐν
πρετωρίῳ θεοῦ Μ(άρχου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)

5 Ἀντωνίνου Ζευήρου
ἐκ τῶν εἰδίων κατε-
σκεύασεν τὸ ἔργον ὑ-
πὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀ-
δελφῶν Αἰ(λίων) Μάρκου

10 καὶ Ἡρακλίδου.

Soon after 212 AD.

The dedicator was a veteran of the praetorian guard under Caracalla and his family name may have been derived either from his military service or from that of an ancestor, if one is to go by the names of his brothers (according to Gerov, p. 209). That he settled on the territory of Serdica could be taken as an indication of his Thracian descent, something that has been deleted by the names of the three brothers. For ἔργον see Mihailov, *IGB* III, 2268, p. 256.

12. Village of Dragoman (on the territory of **Serdica).
Plate LVI**

Limestone altar chipped on the right-hand side. Measurements: height 0.75 m, length 0.49 m, width 0.57 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1231.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2034; Gerov, *o.c.*, 226, No 16.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Μεστριαν[ός]
στρατ(ιώτης) λεγ(ιώνος) Β΄ Πα[ρθ(ικῆς)]
κυρίῳ Σεβαζίῳ ἐ[κ]

5 προνοίας εὐχαρισ[τή]-
ριον ἔστησε.

The first decades of the 3rd century AD.

The inscription was erected after the formation of the Second Parthian Legion in 197 and most probably after 212. B. Gerov assumes that the soldier was a Romanized Thracian. Though his name cannot be regarded as proof positive of his Thracian descent, the place at which the inscription was found supports Gerov's assumption. The altar was discovered on Mount Chepan at a Thracian sanctuary of Sabazios or the Thracian Horseman, or maybe of both deities.

13. Pautalia - Kyustendil.

Plate LVII

Syenite altar with *acroteria*. Measurements: height 0.80 m, length 0.50 m, width 0.50 m.

At the Hissarluka in Kyustendil.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2076.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Διὶ Σεβασίῳ

Χρῆστος Ζωίλου.

The name of the dedicator is Greek. For Ζωίλος, see Bechtel.¹⁵

14. Pautalia.

Marble altar (slab?), much damaged. Measurements: height 0.88 m, length 0.375 m. Now lost.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2103.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ

(Διὶ) Σεβασίῳ

IN---Σ--BE

-KTAΛIN

5 ---ΤΥΟΕΠΙ

---NEOΣ

---ΕΟΣ

15. Village of Tavalichevo (on the territory of Pautalia).

Altar. Measurements: height 0.80 m, length 0.60 m, width 0.40 m. Now lost.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2196.

Κυρίῳ Σεβασί[ι]ω

ἐπηχ[ό]ω Μᾶρ(χ)[ος]

Μου[χα?]κερζ[ου]?

[χ]αὶ ---ΟΥ---

5 -ΕΟΘΙ καὶ Μ[ᾱρ]-
 κο(ς)? Βελίου [εὐξά]-
 [μ]ενοι τὸ[ν βωμὸν]
 [ἀνέθηκαν].

The patronymic of the first dedicator is a composite Thracian name, while that of the last one is Roman.¹⁶

16. Sportela, today Rila (on the territory of Pautalia).

Syenite slab, broken in two; the left-hand side has been lost, while the right-hand one is in Rila (underscored here).

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2233.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Κυρίῳ Σαβαζίῳ κληρονόμοι Πεισεισίου Αἰσυ-
 μωους καὶ ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ Σπορτηληνοὶ ἐποί-
 ησαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δι' ἐπιμελητῶν Βειθυος
 5 Μουκατραλεος καὶ Λούπτου Πι[εῖς]εισίου καὶ Μάρ-
 κου καὶ Λουκίου.

According to B. Gerov, the names of Βειθυς, Μουκατραλις are Thracian, as are Πεισεισος, Αἰσυμωους. He also points to a number of other monuments which could be linked to the Sabazios cult; it was B. Gerov too who published the annotation from the papers of Detschew to the effect that Σπορτηληνοὶ could not possibly mean an association, as was assumed by Kalinka, but was a derivative of Sportela.¹⁷

17. Philippopolis.

Plate LVIII

Small marble slab, almost rectangular and broken in two: 0.23 m wide at the base and 0.22 m at the top, 0.37 m high and 0.03 m thick.

In the Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, No 3779.

Tsonchev in *RA* XLIV, 1954, 15-20; Tatscheva-Hitova in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* III, 1978, 1223 ff and Pl. CCXXIII.

The slab has a frame which simulates in its upper part a pediment with *acroteria*. In the naiskos so formed, the representations are arranged in two fields which are not separated.

In the upper and bigger field, the central figure is that of Sabazios in his Phrygian aspect, as defined by Eisele and Schaeffer. He has a Phrygian cap and garb, a beard and long curly hair. His pose resembles closely the one familiar to us from the reliefs in the Berlin and Copenhagen museums and from Ampurias:¹⁸ the left foot is brought forward and under it is a ram's head. In his left hand, the god is holding a sceptre topped by a hand in the act

of *benedictio latina*, while in his raised right hand he holds an indistinct object with a round top (in my opinion it could very well be a cone, such as is to be seen in the above mentioned reliefs, and also if one is to judge by the rest of the representations around the god's head, representations which both Tsonchev and Picard assume to be cones). However, the parallels with the above mentioned metal relief, which teem with symbolic objects and animals, end here. In the Philippopolis slab, Sabazios is surrounded by a host of gods and demi-gods, whose representations are arranged in two vertical rows.

To the right of the god (from top to bottom) are the busts of Luna, Pan, Hermes-Mercury; the left-hand side row is taken up by busts of Sol, Fortuna-Tyche and Daphne in the act of metamorphosis. This is the first time that Fortuna appears in a Sabazios monument and may be associated here with Hermes as in some inscriptions from the western parts of the Empire and in the murals above the entrance gates in Pompeii.¹⁹ The portrayal of Fortuna with Hermes, as well as the architectonics of the slab itself make me see in the sculptor's design a resemblance to the Rhine-Danube reliefs of Mithras, reliefs which are associated in the literature²⁰ with the *porte sacrée*; the latter is attributed to Eastern influences and is intrinsic to the mystery cults of Cybele, Dionysos and Orpheus.²¹ It has recently been pointed out that it is not absent from the subject-matter of Thracian art either.²² Besides the busts of Sol and Luna, which in my opinion should be attributed to the above mentioned stylistic influences, of special interest here is the presence of Pan and Daphne. It testifies to a functional relationship between Sabazios, on the one hand, and Apollo and Dionysos, on the other, and that has been recorded in ancient tradition. And if at Nicopolis the intrinsically Thracian nature of the god is described with the epithet of Arsilenos, here it is to be established through Daphne. Very few representations of Daphne have been found on Thracian territory; she is invariably portrayed in her human aspect on the point of being metamorphosed, just as on the relief in question here (this type of representation does not necessarily require the presence of Apollo).²³ All representations barring one,²⁴ are from Philippopolis and from the Thracian sanctuary near the village of Krun (on the territory of Augusta Traiana). This was a sanctuary of the Thracian Apollo Ζεφθηνος and a number of the dedications are associated with representations of the Thracian Horseman.²⁵ I am inclined to see in this find a reaffirmation of my conjecture of a henotheistic deity adopted by the Thracians having solar and chthonian functions and identified with Apollo, and being deemed worthy of the epithet of Hypsistos.²⁶ In the Philippopolis relief this Thracian god is in the Phrygian guise of Sabazios and is regarded, because of his *retinue*, as ruler of the world, protector of plant and animal life and master of men's destinies in their lifetime and in the other world.

The interpretation advanced here is supported by the scene in the lower section of the relief. The central figure here is the horseman galloping to the right. He is wearing a Phrygian cap and has long hair and is dressed in the traditional garb of the Heros. In his raised right hand he holds an indistinct object—in all likelihood a pine cone (in Tsonchev's view, this is a benedictory gesture). Here too, though less distinctly than in the case of Sabazios' hand in the upper relief, one may notice quite clearly the curve formed by the thumb and little finger which enclose a round object. On either side of the horseman the busts of Sol and Luna are seen again; they occur very rarely on the votive tablets of the Thracian Horseman.²⁷ The horse has a bridle and crest, which is typical for the Heros reliefs. There is a dog beneath the horse and it chases a clumsily depicted boar. Two female figures confront the horseman. What we have here is a typical representation of the Thracian Horseman in scene B according to the classification of Kazarov. In his view, this scene has a religious implication and that is the pursuit and annihilation of evil by the god. The female figure nearer to the horse is dressed in a long garment and has a veil; in her left hand is an indistinct object with a long holder (torch?). These details show that this is the figure of a goddess,²⁸ and not of a worshipper. The other figure is in low relief and is depicted rather schematically down to the waist; her arms are raised, which is quite unusual for the female figures on the Thracian Horseman's reliefs.²⁹ Below the two female figures is a bull its legs bent under it. On its flank is an indistinct representation which Tsonchev identifies as a dog, but it looks more like a bird. To my knowledge, there is just one among the reliefs of the Thracian Horseman in which the bull is not depicted as a hunted animal, but between the legs of the horse, advancing to the right with its head shown in full face.³⁰ Because of the rather indistinct likenesses, it is difficult to even make conjectures about the two female figures and the bull, which could be linked to the cults of Attis and Cybele.

In my opinion, Sabazios should be viewed in the relief from Philippopolis as a Thracian high god, a cosmocrator devoid of the features of Anatolian theocrasia. The artist's design imitates the contemporary stylistic pattern of the Rhine-Danube reliefs of Mithras (in them the section beneath Mithras features religious and mythological subjects), but reflects Thracian religious thinking—the lower field portrays the same god during a cult ceremony or mystery scene.

Because of the representation of the Thracian Horseman and the stylistic particularities noted above, the relief should be referred to the first half of the 3rd century AD.

18. Village of Voissil (on the territory of **Philippopolis). Plates LVI and LIX**

A bronze right hand, 0.112 m long.

In the Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, No 4004.

D. Tsonchev, *Arheologicheski pametnitsi po yuzhnite sklonove na Panagyurska Sredna gora*, Sofia 1963, 58.

The hand is making the sign of *benedictio latina*. A frog, tortoise and crocodile are depicted on the hand. Just as in the relief from Philippopolis, here too the snake, a likeness characteristic to the Sabazios monuments, is missing. The presence of the crocodile, as far as I know, is unique among the representations of the Sabazios monuments and is difficult to explain. What is more, the likeness here is rendered rather schematically—the forelegs are crude and uncharacteristic of the animal and one may, therefore, suppose that the sculptor, having probably never seen a crocodile, had depicted a lizard, the representation of which often occurs on the Sabazios hands (see III, 19). This, taken together with the absence of the snake, whose representation invariably appears on this type of monuments, makes me assume that the hand from Voissil was not an accessory of a cult ritual, but rather the votive offering of a person who was not well versed in the worship of Sabazios.

19. Gradnitsa (on the territory of **Augusta Traiana**).

Plate LIX

A bronze right hand, 0.109 m long, 0.039 m in diameter at the wrist.

In the District Museum of History, Gabrovo.

A. Milchev, *Kum koulta na Sabazii v Dolna Miziya i Trakiya* in *Yearbook of Sofia University, Department of History* LXVI, 1972-1973 (1975), 48 ff.; A. Milchev, *O kulte Sabaziya v nizhnii Mezii i Frakii* in *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 1977, 2, 58 ff., fig. 1 a-e; M. Tacheva-Hitova, *Koultut na Sabazii v trakiiskite zemi* in *Yearbook of Sofia University, Department of History* LXIX, 1975-1976, p. 49-73.

The hand is hollow and was probably designed to be mounted on a sceptre. The finger formation is that of *benedictio latina*. The thumb bears a pine cone, while the two upright fingers are topped by Zeus' thunder-bolt, on which the shanks of an eagle have been preserved. A snake is coiled around the wrist, its body reaching the little finger where it breaks off, while the head is preserved on the palm of the hand. These are the most characteristic representations for this type of Sabazios monuments which associate in the most definitive manner the hand with the cult of Sabazios-Zeus (Jupiter). On the back of the hand are depicted the thyrsos of Dionysos and the scales, which should be referred here to the cult of the god Mên (the scales occur often on the Sabazios monuments and testify to a relationship with Mên, and that has been attested by the presence of the deity itself on a number of monuments).³¹

Again on the back of the same hand are the familiar representations for this type of monuments—those of the frog, the tortoise and the lizard. I have doubts about the interpretation of their presence offered by A. Milchev (a different one in the two publications). I find more acceptable the interpretation

of Lossev,³² who agrees to the chthonian and mantic significance they had at the archaic level of the Apollo myth that associated him with the ram.

On the palm of the hand are to be seen the head of a ram, a sacrificial loaf of bread (represented by two intersecting diameters), a pair of pliers, a crater (?) and a beetle which occurs, though rarely, on other Sabazios hands.³³ On the palm again, near the base of the fingers, are two indistinct representations, which A. Milchev identifies as a trefoil and a hinge with a bolt. I find it difficult both to accept this identification and to offer a better one. I think that the second object (below the snake's head) has a close parallel in the representation on the bronze tablet of Copenhagen (to the left of Luna's bust). But since this relic is known to me from publications only, I do not regard the parallel as certain.

The representations on the palm that have been listed above, seem to be framed on the one side by a twig (below the little finger) which I take as a symbol of immortality,³⁴ and on the other side, by the winged staff of Hermes Psychopompos. It is my belief that the palm of the hand carries the likenesses of those objects which were accessories to the cult rites and the mysteries, while the snake symbolized the presence of the deity itself.³⁵ The caduceus of Hermes Psychopompos and the twig of immortality framing the above mentioned symbols, very probably convey the great idea of Thracian religion, that of immortalization to which the initiated in the cult aspired.

The numerous symbolic representations on the hand from Gradnitsa set it apart from the typically Thracian relics and are expressive of that kind of religious thinking which originated from or was influenced by the East. This should also be of assistance in dating the hand. Bearing in mind the considerations of historical nature in connection with Augusta Traiana and its territory, where the hand came to light, the latter may be referred to the period between the mid-2nd and mid-3rd centuries AD.

20. Village of Yavorovo, Stara Zagora district (on the territory of Augusta Traiana). Plate LX

Marble slab. Measurements: height 0.45 m, length 0.94 m, width 0.34 m. At the District Museum of History in Stara Zagora.

Bouyukliev in *Arheologiya* VII, 1965, 2, 50-51, fig. 1; Mihailov in *Epigraphica* (Revista italiana di epigrafia), XXXVII, 1-2, 1975, 50-51, 53-54.

[T]ο ΙΕ Διὶ Σαβαζίῳ θεῷ προγονικῶ
 Τίτος Φλαουίος Σκελου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Δι-
 νις ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ προγόνων διὰ βίου καὶ
 ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχείας
 5 τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκευάσεν.

Last quarter of the 1st century AD.

H. Bouyukliev dates the inscription to the age of the Flavians by basing himself on the evidence of the dedicator's Roman name, as well as on the indication of the Quirina tribe under Vespasian. According to this dating, the inscription is the earliest find of the Sabazios cult in the Thracian lands. G. Mihailov refers the dedication to the reign of Hadrian at the earliest, that is to say at least half a century later. His strongest argument for the dating is the development of urban life in Augusta Traiana with which period the career of the dedicator is associated.

In my opinion, there are other considerations which should be also borne in mind and which could provide grounds for a more certain dating of the relic when taken in conjunction with the rest of Augusta Traiana's epigraphic heritage. Particularly useful in this respect are the inscriptions found on the city's territory and dedicated to a so far unidentified local Thracian deity, Δριγεσωι.³⁶ These latter are inscribed on small columns. The names of the dedicators give ground to G. Mihailov (pp. 53-54) to refer them to the successive generations of the high priest Dinis' family, of which Σκελης had, in his opinion, been granted Roman citizenship rights. If the family ties between the dedicators of these inscriptions Φλ(άουιος) Δινις Λονγείνου and Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Νέπως Δινεος are accepted, as well as the filiation Σκελης-Δινις-χ-Λονγείνος-Δινις-Νέπως which he suggests, it then immediately becomes obvious that there is a gap of 80 years between the high priest Dinis and the dedicator Nepos and that difference in time cannot be fitted in between Hadrian's reign and the time of the other dedicatory inscriptions (the second half of the 2nd century at the earliest) fixed by the author himself.

Secondly, it should be borne in mind that one of the earliest reliefs of the Thracian Horseman from the interior of Thrace (*IGB* III, 2, 1599 bis) has come from Augusta Traiana and that relief is dated to the middle or second half of the 2nd century, while the earliest atelier for making reliefs of the Horseman at Cillae³⁷ was operational towards the third quarter of the same century. Thus if the dedicators of the inscription, descended from the prominent Thracian family of the high priest Dinis, had not offered reliefs of the Thracian Horseman to their deity, it must have been because the usage had not yet been adopted, that is to say the dedications had been probably made around or even earlier than the middle of the 2nd century. If that were so, then the dedication of the high priest Dinis should be referred to the last quarter of the 1st century, that is to say in the reign of the Flavians, under whom his father Σκελης obtained Roman citizenship rights.

Of particular significance for the definition of the cult is the epithet of the god in the inscription (line 1) προγονικός, which is known to us from only two other Thracian inscriptions to Zeus. The office of high priest of Sabazios was held for life (line 3, διὰ βίου) and was also inherited (line 3, ἱερίως ἀπὸ προγόνων). Obviously the high priest belonged to the hereditary Thracian aristocracy,

which retained its privileges even after the Thracian kingdom's annexation under Claudius (in 45 AD) and was granted Roman citizenship thus joining the ranks of the provincial aristocracy in Roman Thracia (line 4, ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχείας) that is to say Dinis was also the high priest of the provincial assembly and conducted the worship of the Imperial cult.³⁸

21. Village of Karanovo (on the territory of **Augusta Traiana**). Plate LX

Two fragments of a marble slab: (a) 0.45 m high, 0.70 m long and 0.26 m wide; (b) 0.40 m high, 0.65 m long and 0.28 m wide.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, Nos 395 and 396.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 2, 1588 - II 677 bis.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη[ι].

Ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Λ(ουκίου) Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου [Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μ(άρκου)

Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντῶ]-

νίνου καίσαρος ὑπάτων Διὶ Σεβαστῷ Ἀρσε[ληνῶ τὸν ναόν]

5 κατασκευασθέντα ἐπὶ βασιλείῳ Θρακῶν----- καὶ ὕ]-

πὸ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου διαφθαρέντ[α-----]

-----T --E-----

Early in 202 AD.

For the reading on line 5 of ἐπὶ βασιλείῳ Θρακῶν, see Mihailov, *IGB* III, 2, p. 257.

As is known, in 202 AD the Emperor Septimius Severus and Caracalla, who had already been proclaimed Augustus, were installed as consuls in Antioch.³⁹ In this case, line 2 of the inscription is incorrect—Caracalla is referred to as Caesar. G. Mihailov is of the opinion that this monument had a connection with the visit to Augusta Traiana of the Imperial family on their return trip to Rome. I, however, share the view advanced in more recent studies to the effect that there is no concrete evidence of Imperial visits to various cities, but that the existence of monuments in their honour should be attributed to the autocratic rule of Septimius Severus.⁴⁰ In an article on this subject, I had advanced the view that βασιλεὺς Θρακῶν in all probability here stood for the city's high priest who was also the magistrate. G. Mihailov drew my attention to a number of facts which preclude this possibility. In such case there is room only for the conjecture that the temple in question was raised in the reign of one of the Thracian kings and that the hereditary Thracian high priest from III, 20 was associated with it. It is not unlikely, however, that the dedication may have been made to the temple of another deity; there is a similar instance in Serdica with a dedication to Sarapis (see I, B, 6).

* * *

22. Provenance unknown Western Asia Minor? Thrace?

Plate LXI

Stone relief with an inscription. Measurements: length 0.36 m, height 0.34 m, thickness 0.06 m.

At the British Museum, purchased in Istanbul.

Cook, *Zeus*, II, 1925, 282, n. 2, Pl. XIX.

1st century BC at the earliest.

Εὐτυχος Δι(ι) Σαβαζείῳ
κατ' ὄνιον χαριστήριον.

The relief features a bearded Zeus on horseback advancing to the right and facing a leafless tree. He is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton and flowing cloak and has a diadem on his head. In his right hand he wields the thunder-bolt and in his left, he holds two spears. An eagle is perched on the tree and near its beak is the head of a snake that is coiling round the tree. Under the tree is depicted a blazing altar, and next to the altar, a crater. In Cook's opinion, the unusual thing here is Sabazios on horseback and this he attributes to Thracian influence, having in mind the relief of horse-riding Dionysos from Melnik (*JGB* IV, 1470). According to Picard,⁴¹ this Sabazios on horseback could be a Thracian trend reminiscent of the favourite Balkan Heros with whom are linked both Dionysos from Thasos and the relief from Philippopolis (III, 17). I should like to add here that the Thracian influence in the relief is to be observed also in the two spears, which are characteristic of the weaponry of the Thracian goddess Bendis.⁴²

23. Southern Thrace, unidentified place of origin.

Plate LXII

Bronze tablet. Measurements: height 0.135 m, length 0.10 m, width 0.04 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

I. Velkov in *IAI* 7, 1932-1933, 414, fig. 171.

The tablet is shaped like an *aedicula*. The pediment carries the representation of a head with a radiate crown (Helios?); in the centre of the *aedicula* is Zeus enthroned, a cloak is thrown over his shoulder and he is holding a sceptre in his left hand, while on his outstretched right hand is perched an eagle its wings spread out. Below this same hand is a small figure holding a patera or some other unidentifiable object. In M. Macrea's view,⁴³ this representation is not strange to the Sabazios cult and bears a striking resemblance to the bronze tablet from Tibiscum, about which he has a publication. I, however, think that the parallels and arguments of the author are insufficient for accepting the likeness of Zeus Aetophoros which occurs often on monuments and coins, for that of Zeus Sabazios.

24. Turre-Pirot = IV, 11.

Detschew in *GNM* 1926/31, 158 ff.; Gerov, *o.c.*, IV, 188, 224 and n. 5.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1924.

Ἀγαθῇ [τύ]χ[η].

Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ὑψίστῳ

εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν

τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἱ

5 δίων διὰ ἱερέως

Ἑρμογένους καὶ προ-

στάτου Αὐγουστιανοῦ

Ἀχιλλεύς, Αὐρῆλις, Δῖο(ς), Ἀλέ-

ξανδρος, Μόκας, Μο[χι]ανός,

10 Δομήτις, Σοφεῖνος, Παυ-

λείνος, Πύρος, Ἀπολινά-

ρις, Μοκιανός, [Σ?]ῆλυς,

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός Ἀσκ-

ληπιάδου Θια[---]Σεβαζι-

15 ανός ΘΕ[---]ΤΟΥΤΑΣ----

The age of the Severi and not later than 211 AD.

This inscription has provided ground for many theories on the nature of the cult, its origin and connection with Hypsistos. I, however, agree with the view of D. Detschew and B. Gerov, who read the male theophoric name on lines 14-15 as Σεβαζιανός, and not as θία[σος] Σεβαζιανός, (cf. IV, 11). This theophoric name is also proper to a Thracian from the territory of Pautalia—Σεβαζιανός Μουκατραλεός.⁴⁴

B. Interpretation

1. Historiography

There is a great deal of available data on the origins and nature of the Sabazios cult supplied by ancient writers, lexicographers and mythographers.⁴⁵ Some of the contradictions in the information they provide, have not yet been satisfactorily clarified⁴⁶ owing no doubt to the fact that the cult's local particularities for the areas of its expansion have not been fully ascertained. This is particularly true of the Thracian lands,⁴⁷ in spite of the fact that Sabazios is most often considered to have been a Thraco-Phrygian deity. One of the latest studies which covers the overall diffusion of the cult and dwells on its ethnocultural origins and, consequently, on the Thracian monuments, is that of Ch. Picard. In this study of his, the author discusses some hitherto

unsuspected aspects of the cult that have been revealed in a number of newly discovered monuments among which is the marble relief (III, 17) from Philipopolis. Proceeding from the evidence offered by these monuments, as well as from the now outdated information provided by Schaeffer, Picard claims that Thracia and Phrygia were the original homeland of the Sabazios cult, though Asia Minor was actually the starting point of its diffusion—it was from Phrygia that it spread to Thracia and Dacia.⁴⁸ The road of infiltration of the cult into Dacia which he traces, could be disputed for that has been done on the basis of the three monuments indicated by M. Macrea and long since established with certainty; to them the latter has added the rather doubtful representation of Sabazios on a bronze tablet with naiskos from Tibiscum⁴⁹ which features no more than Zeus' characteristic attributes—the thunder-bolt and the eagle. The author's lack of access to more recent information on the monuments from Moesia Inferior and Thracia has prevented him from making more concrete observations on the local features of the cult; in some cases this has also led him to put forward assertions which are in contradiction with the data obtainable from the monuments, for example, that the expansion of the cult was to be attributed to the presence of Roman legionaries who made votive offerings and dedications to the local deities.⁵⁰ In its entirety, however, Picard's study is timely and very useful both because of his introduction into the literature of new monuments and because of the conclusions he arrives at on the characteristic features of the cult.

The Sabazios cult, which had long failed to attract the attention of Bulgarian researchers into Thracian antiquity, has now become a subject of interest after the discovery of the bronze hand from Gradnitsa (III, 19). Its publication was followed by a number of articles, most of all by its discoverer A. Milchev.⁵¹ Although he focuses his attention on a series of problems as, for instance, the cult's syncretism, the link between Sabazios and Dionysos, etc., the author has made no attempt to add to the description of the cult in the two provinces the numerous new data now available. Instead of doing that, he has held on to a formerly accepted practice among Bulgarian historiographers and has simply restated the more important views on the cult to be found in the literature on the subject. A successful attempt at reviewing the Thracian monuments in the light of the above mentioned find is P. Gorbanov's paper.⁵² Again in view of the heightened interest in the ethnocultural study of ancient Thrace, a linguistic research by T. Sarafov was recently published in which the etymology of Satyr, Sabazios, the tribal name of the Satrai, and Σατρεύς.⁵³ (the Thracian name of Dionysos) is discussed. It is my belief that the finds from Moesia Inferior and Thracia which have so far been unearthed, throw new light on the nature of the Thracian Sabazios,⁵⁴ as well as on his still unclarified role in ancient Thracian religion.

2. *General Description of the Monuments. Chronology and Centres of Diffusion of the Cult. Ethnic Origin and Social Status of the Dedicators*

There are 21 conclusive proofs of the spread of the Sabazios cult in the provinces of Moesia Inferior and Thracia. Seventeen of them are epigraphic; the inscriptions are to be found on altars (III, 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13-15), bases (III, 3, 5, 11) and limestone or marble slabs (III, 16, 20, 21). The rest of the finds are: a marble votive tablet without dedication (III, 17), four bronze hands (III, 2, 2 bis, 18, 19), as well as an ivory one (III, 7). With the exception of three from Moesia Inferior (III, 1, 5, 6), the inscriptions are in Greek.

The dating of the finds refers the earliest appearance of the cult to the second half of the 1st century AD, and that is in the inscription of the Thracian high priest Dinis who had inherited the office he held for life from his forefathers (III, 20). If, however, we accept as Thracian the monument housed at the British Museum (III, 22) which is dated to the 1st century BC, then that would represent the earliest epigraphic evidence of the spread of the cult among the Thracians; inscriptions III, 6, 9, 10 are referred in general to the 2nd century; the highest number of dedications have come down to us from the age of the Severi (III, 3-5, 8, 11, 12, 21), while the votive tablet from Philipopolis (III, 17) belongs in all likelihood to the middle of the 3rd century at the latest. The dating of the Sabazios bronze hands poses some difficulties—in the literature these finds are generally assigned to the 1st-2nd century, but owing to the prevailing historic and religious circumstances in the two provinces, they should be referred to between the mid-2nd and mid-3rd centuries.

The latest evidence on the spread of the cult is the hand from Krassen (III, 7) which was found together with a 4th century coin. The fact that no other find of this kind has been excavated in this particular area, as well as the material and technique employed in fashioning it, make me doubt that it was locally produced and have led me to assume that it should be attributed to the second half of the 3rd century at the latest.

The finds so far unearthed attest that the cult of Sabazios did not enjoy any particular popularity in Moesia Inferior which has yielded no more than seven relics (III, 1-7). The centres of the cult in Thracia were Serdica, Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana and Pautalia, while in Moesia Inferior, the territory of which was included as an administrative unit in Thracia up to the time of the Severi, such a centre was Nicopolis ad Istrum. It should also be noted that the monuments are not to be assigned so much to the urban centres as to the territories of the centres listed above. It was precisely there that a compact mass of Thracian population had remained after the provinces' intensive urbanization under the Antonines and the permanent resettling of newcomers from the East. It is obvious that the cult had spread among the Thracian population

and this may be proved with the help of the dedicators' names—at least half of the monuments bear names which one may claim with certainty to have been Thracian (III, 3, 10, 8, 12?, 15, 16, 20): Μουκαζενις Αυλοκενθου, Αὐρ. Διζας Λουκίου, Μοκας Διζου, Αὐρ. Μεστριανός(?), Βειθυς Μουκατραλεος, Μάρκος Μουκακερζου, Τίτος Φλάουιος Σκελου υἱός Κυρεῖνα Δινις. The dedicator of the votive relief (III, 17) from Philipoppolis was also a Thracian, while the hands from Krassen (III, 7) and Gradnitsa (III, 19) are without any doubt linked with the spread of the cult among the Thracian population.

As can be inferred from the inscriptions, the cult was also popular among people of higher social status (it is to be expected that those belonging to the lower strata and the slaves had fewer possibilities of setting up votive offerings and dedicatory monuments). Among the dedicators are a high priest of the Imperial cult in the Thracian provincial assembly who was likewise a priest of Sabazios (III, 20), a city magistrate from Nicopolis ad Istrum (III, 4), a priest of Sabizios who raised a temple (ναός) to the god in Serdica (III, 8) in fulfilment of a vow, a former praetorian guard who bought and dedicated from his own funds a cult accessory to Sabazios (III, 11), a praetorian scribe (III, 9) and a soldier (III, 12).

The available data about the dedicators convincingly evince that the spread of the cult is not to be attributed to the presence of Roman legionaries, as is customarily accepted in the literature.⁵⁵ There are no more than three inscriptions whose dedicators were military men (III, 9, 11, 12). They came from the province of Thracia in whose garrison no Roman legionaries served. It could be conjectured that the hands from Touchenitsa (III, 2, 2 bis) and Krassen (III, 7) were accessories of the cult rites of soldier-worshippers.

3. Iconography

The representations of Sabazios had no strictly defined iconographic pattern in the area of the cult's diffusion. Eisele⁵⁶ has grouped in two those representations of the god about which he knew; there are only a few cases of deviation from his classification.

Group I comprises the purely Phrygian type of representation and includes the greater part of the important monuments showing a bearded Sabazios in a Phrygian cap and garb and accompanied by a snake, a ram, and an eagle (about which Eisele is quite right in assuming that that was due to Sabazios' identification with Zeus-Jupiter). In one of his hands he holds a sceptre often topped by a hand making the sign of *benedictio latina*,⁵⁷ and in his other hand, a pine cone. In some sculptures the god is shown with one or two of his hands raised in the same gesture.

Group II comprises the so-called Graeco-Roman type in which the characteristic features of the fused Zeus-Jupiter have supplanted the specific traits of the first group.

The only representation of Sabazios on a relief from the province of Thracia (III, 17) may with certainty be referred to the first group. The god is represented here in a suppler pose than in the similar reliefs at Copenhagen and Berlin, while his right hand, holding a pine cone, is raised aloft. The snake and the eagle are altogether missing, while the ram's head is depicted under the left foot which is thrust forward. This is the only find in which Sabazios is shown as cosmocrator, the protector of animal and plant life, the lord of men in this and the next world. The relief depicts the god divested of the habitual theocrasia with Zeus or any other Anatolian deity. In contrast, the relief evinces a perception of the god as Thracian—Sabazios is represented in a cult (or mystery) scene in the guise of a horseman similarly to other supreme Thracian deities. The hands discovered in the two provinces (Moesia Inferior, III, 2, 2 bis, 7, and Thracia, 18, 19) show a number of similarities and differences with the rest of this type of monuments. The missing snake on two of the hands (III, 17, 18) suggests that they were meant to be mounted on (the god's?) sceptre as may be seen on the bronze tablets at Copenhagen and Berlin and the marble relief from Philipoppolis (III, 17). As far as I know, the left hand from Touchenitsa is a unique phenomenon among the Sabazios hands. Together with the right hand (III, 2, 2 bis), it belongs to group C as classified by Blinkenberg and was in all likelihood part of a cult symbol or representation.⁵⁸

The hand from Krassen (III, 17) belongs to Blinkenberg's group B.⁵⁹ It is unique not only in the material it was made of (ivory), but also in the representation of the Horseman in the pine cone. Very likely, it was also meant to top a sceptre.

The hand from Voissil (III, 18) should be included in the same group B (despite the representations of a tortoise and a lizard (?), because of the more clearly typical features—the pine cone on the thumb and the missing snake.

The hand from Gradnitsa (III, 19) without doubt belongs to Blinkenberg's most inclusive group E.⁶⁰ It displays a number of characteristics not only of the syncretism of the Sabazios cult, but also of its mantic nature, as well as the idea of immortalization through the mysteries. This idea is attested by the ancient writers as inherent to the Thracian religion, but it was no stranger to the Hellenistic mysteries either, which were bound up with the Thraco-Phrygian cults.⁶¹

The iconography of the monuments from the two provinces shows that Sabazios was regarded there as a high god and ruler of the world in theocrasia with Zeus, Dionysos, Mên and other deities.

The *benedicto latina* is the identifying symbolic gesture of the Sabazios hands distinguishing them from similar relics associated with the cult of Dolichenus, Hypsistos, etc. Blinkenberg is inclined to associate this gesture with the Phrygian cult rites but, owing to lack of evidence, he sees the only

possibility of explaining it as a gesture proper to the Sabazios cult and one that was adopted from the orators putting forth their hands during a particularly solemn utterance.⁶² This gesture is typical not only of the representations of Sabazios but of some of the Thracian Horseman as well, and has been interpreted more fully by H. Seyrig. According to Kazarov, this gesture indicates the spear held by the Thracian Horseman and painted additionally on his reliefs.⁶³

Ch. Picard believes that this was a divine gesture of benediction, protection, conjuration.⁶⁴ My study of the Sabazios hands and especially that from Krassen (III, 17) and the one at Brussels have afforded me the opportunity of putting forward a conjecture on the origins of this gesture: stripped of all symbols that are typical of this kind of relics, the hands have a finger formation for holding a pine cone—a replica of *benedictio latina*; in my opinion, the divine hand bestowing (symbolically, through the pine cone) fertility to the plant world was the starting point in the development of the iconography, as well as the concept behind the gesture of the Sabazios hands. From a fundamental symbol, the cone became one of the many symbols represented on the hands. Since the gesture is typical of Roman Catholic church practices (from which it derives its name), some regard it as signifying the divine precept, the thought (logos) and associate it with the iconography of Christ the teacher.

Representations of the Thracian Horseman with his hand raised in an identical gesture are known to us not only from the Thracian lands, but from Macedonia and Thasos as well. The finds have come to light in the eastern parts of the two provinces (in Thracia no further than Philipoppolis) and are associated with a few exceptions only with the mounted Apollo, and not with the Thracian Heros. I am of the opinion that this observation is of decisive significance in the characterization of Sabazios since his association with Apollo is apparent from a number of cases as well, which will be discussed further. Moreover, this association is to be observed in the Lydian and Phrygian areas of Asia Minor where the local Apollo was endowed with features proper to Sabazios and with solar functions as well, and consequently had the same chthonian and solar properties which I see in the monuments dedicated to the mounted Apollo in the region mentioned above. That same region has also yielded the oldest relics of the Thracian solar cult.

4. *Epigraphic Monuments. Names and Epithets of the Gods. High Priests, Temples*

The name of Sabazios appears in the inscriptions in several variants; the one most often used is Σεβάζιος (III, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 21) which, with the exception of the inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum (III, 4), is typical of the inscriptions from Thrace. This form of the deity's name is to be met with only

in our inscriptions; its Thracian origin seems to be confirmed by the fact that in the ancient sources it is to be found in Macrobius⁶⁵ only, when he writes about the Sabazios cult among the Thracians. In the rest of the inscriptions, the deity's name is spelt Σαβάζιος (III, 3, 8, 12, 16, 20), Sabazius (III, 1), Sabadius (III, 5, 6) and Σαβασεῖος (III, 22). I find it difficult to agree with the assumption that the Thracian form Σεβάζιος is derived from the popular ablaut of σέβομαι.⁶⁶ There are quite a few linguistic interpretations of the name of Sabazios attempting to clarify the implied meaning.⁶⁷ According to the scholia in Aristophanes' *The Wasps*, this was the Thracian name for Dionysos.⁶⁸

In the dedications to Sabazios from the two provinces, the deity's name is almost invariably preceded by the epithets κύριος (III, 8, 12, 15, 16), θεός ἐπῆχοος (III, 3, 9, 11, 15) or by the names of Zeus and Jupiter. The two epithets are indicative of the inscriptions from the two provinces linking as they do Sabazios with the most revered deities of the Thracian pantheon.⁶⁹ The epithet of μέγιστος (III, 4) occurs rarely in the two provinces in defining the chthonian deities.⁷⁰ The epithet of μητρικός is quite unusual and its explanation (see under III, 9) can hardly be regarded as conclusive.

The epithet of προγονικός (III, 20) has been encountered in the Thracian inscriptions for no one else but Zeus Zbelsurdos. In Kazarov's opinion, this epithet is linked with those of the mounted Apollo, γενι(α)χός. As a matter of fact, it was Seure who pointed out that these terms were equivalent; they were used in the different parts of ancient Thrace to indicate the uninterrupted link with the ancestors and designated Apollo as the divine forefather of the Thracians.⁷¹ This epithet of Sabazios, used in the inscription of Dinis, a Thracian aristocrat and hereditary high priest of the god, is very important in understanding the characteristics attributed to Sabazios in the Thracian lands. It points to the link between him and the mounted Apollo and his acceptance as the supreme god and divine ancestor of the Thracians. What is more, the ancientness of the cult for the Thracians may also be assumed on the basis of the Thracian place-names of Αθυπαρηνος (III, 8) and Αρσιληνος (III, 4, 20) figuring in inscriptions from Serdica, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Augusta Traiana, and associating the name of Sabazios with an older and similar Thracian cult. The latter must have been of significance to the cult since it was not left out in the dedication (III, 4) to the 'greatest Zeus-Helios-Sabazios' by an Anatolian in all likelihood.

To judge from the text of the inscriptions, the greater part of the dedications were votive (III, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8); the same is true of the relief from Philipoppolis (III, 17) and, in my opinion, of some of the Sabazios hands—most likely the one from Gradnitsa (III, 19). Other dedications were meant as a thanksgiving to the saviour god ὑπὲρ Σωτηρίας (III, 4, 3?). Of interest are the dedications to the providence of the god (ἐκ προνοίας, III, 12)

and after a dream (κατ' ὄνειρον, III, 22). They reveal the worshippers' belief in the manifestations of Sabazios and in his prophetic powers.

The inscriptions from the two provinces offer no information about believers' societies or the organization of cult festivities and mysteries. Likewise, there is no information about women worshippers of Sabazios.

In a number of monuments (III, 3, 8?, 9, 12-14, 21), the text is preceded by the formula Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, which is typical of the Thracian inscriptions. Some of those inscriptions provide information about high priests of the Sabazios cult (III, 8, 10, 20) in Serdica and on the territory of Augusta Traiana and these may be linked with the data about sanctuaries (temples) in inscriptions III, 8, 11 from Serdica and its territory and III, 21 from Augusta Traiana. Of particular interest is the high priest Τ.Φλ. Δινις, a member of a prominent Thracian aristocratic family and a high priest for life as were his ancestors, according to the inscription. In this respect the monument shows parallels with the Sabazios cult society in Pergamos, where the high priests also belonged to the aristocracy and inherited their office from their fathers.⁷² Consequently, the office of the two other high priests, whose names betray their Thracian origin (Αὐρ. Διζας Λουκίου, Μοκας Διζου), was most likely also hereditary and of long standing.

Except for the explicit information in the text about temples (III, 8, 11, 21), we have no other data about cult edifices or sacred places which could be linked without reservations to the Sabazios cult. If one is to go by inscriptions III, 12 and 16, which were found at unmistakably Thracian sanctuaries, it could be assumed that altars and votive offerings were dedicated to Sabazios at sanctuaries of other deities as well, such as for example the Thracian Horseman and Zeus.

I should like to draw attention here to an important circumstance in the study of the cult—the comparison of the data obtained from the two inscriptions from the territory of Augusta Traiana (III, 20 and 21). The one reveals that a temple built in the reign of a Thracian king (?) had been restored and the other, found in proximity to a Thracian villa rustica, states that the priesthood was inherited by one generation from the preceding up to the time of the Flavians; what is more, in the high priest's inscription Sabazios is given the Thracian ethnonym of Ἀρσληνός, which points to the long standing of the cult in these parts.

5. *Syncretism and Association with Other Gods*

The monuments from the two provinces unmistakably reveal the popularity of the syncretism of Sabazios with the Graeco-Roman Zeus (Jupiter). It is to be seen mainly in the inscriptions III, 4, 5, 6 from Moesia Inferior and III, 10, 13, 14?, 20, 21, 22 from Thracia; there is also a probable connection between the two cults at Sportela, but of that the proof is by inference only. The hand

from Gradnitsa (III, 19) also reveals a syncretism between Sabazios and Zeus. The question of the fusion between the two gods, that is to say the elevation of Sabazios to the rank of high god in the Graeco-Roman pantheon, has been raised by Cumont in connection with the monuments of the Graeco-Roman type indicated above. In his opinion, that syncretism took place in Thracia. This opinion is rejected by Ch. Picard who, more is the pity, knows only part of our monuments and only those mentioned in the publication of M. Macrea.⁷³ There are a number of considerations pertaining to the nature of Thracian religion which should be borne in mind in answering this question. The henotheistic features of the cult of Hypsistos, with which Sabazios is associated,⁷⁴ is by no means the last of these considerations and that in itself enhances the possibility of defining the Thraco-Macedonian region in the Balkans as the zone in which the process of fusion between the two cults had begun.

The syncretism between Sabazios and Dionysos⁷⁵ may be pinpointed only in the relief from Philipoppolis (III, 17) and in the hand from Gradnitsa (III, 19). The early fusion between the two cults, that is to say the Dionysian aspect of Sabazios, something that a number of modern researchers uphold on the strength of ancient tradition, cannot be proved by way of epigraphic data.

A single inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum (III, 4) evinces the syncretism between Zeus-Sabazios and Helios, as well as his links with the Great Goddess of Anatolia—Idaeian Cybele. These links are also presumed on the basis of the god's epithet of μητρικός (III, 9). Neither of the two inscriptions was dedicated by a Thracian; this supports the assumption that the association of Sabazios with the Great Mother of Gods is not typical for his Thracian monuments.

The characteristic syncretism of Sabazios with the Anatolian Mên⁷⁶ may be observed only in the hand from Gradnitsa (III, 19), which features a number of other symbols common to this type of monuments.

The association with Hermes is attested in the votive Latin inscriptions from the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum (III, 5, 6) where, however, its purport in the text⁷⁷ is not clear, and also in the hand from Gradnitsa (III, 19) and the relief from Philipoppolis (III, 17). In the two latter relics Hermes is portrayed as Psychopompos, that is to say he conveyed the souls of the dead to the nether world and was attributed the function which the ancients believed Sabazios to have fulfilled in life after death.

I believe that our monuments unquestionably prove Sabazios' association with Thracian religion. If it should appear that too much has been read into the concepts inherent in the iconography of the relief from Philipoppolis and the hand from Gradnitsa, then the presence of the Thracian Horseman in this same relief and on the hand from Krassen (III, 7), as well as the gesture of *benedictio latina* are in a position to make this association entirely convincing. An argument against could be the consideration that the iconographic type of

the Thracian Horseman, if not created as late as the middle of the 2nd century AD, had at least evolved then and, consequently, this association could be the result of later syncretic processes. I, however, am of the opinion that there are quite a few arguments in favour which have not as yet been brought forward and which could prove if not the Thracian origin of the Sabazios cult, at least its ancient and strong links with Thracian religion and I will present them here.

6. *The Thracian Nature of the Sabazios Cult*

Thus far the observations on relics of the Sabazios cult that have come to light in the Thracian territories of the two Roman provinces, may be explained or elucidated up to a point if they were examined in conjunction even if only with the secondary sources of the ancient tradition. These sources offer two versions. According to one of them, Sabazios was a Phrygian god, therefore, unfamiliar to the Greeks. This was how he was presented in the comedies of Aristophanes, in Lucian, Cicero, Hesychius, in the ecclesiastical writers Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius. It was on the strength of Strabo's notes that he came to be accepted as a Thraco-Phrygian deity. The other version, which Eisele calls Dionysian, is to be found in Diodoros, Plutarch and John of Lydia and was accepted by the scholiasts on Aristophanes and by the ancient lexicographers.⁷⁸ But this latter version offers a good deal of divergences. While Diodoros points out that Dionysos was called Sabazios⁷⁹ by some, the scholiast on *The Wasps* specifies that it was the Thracians who called his high priests σαβοί (Σαβάζιον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον οἱ Θρᾷκες καλοῦσι, καὶ Σαβούς τοὺς ἱερούς αὐτῶν).⁸⁰ Amphitheos, the scholiast on *The Birds*, however, maintains that Sabazios and Dionysos were one and the same god: Φαίνεται γὰρ ἐξ ὧν εὐρίσκομεν συλλογισζόμενοι πολλαχόθεν, ὅτι Διόνυσος καὶ Σαβάζιος εἰς ἐστὶ θεός.⁸¹ On the basis of this information it could be conjectured that by 'some' Diodoros meant the Thracians. This must be how Perdrizet and later Kazarov and others⁸² understood it. But let us now turn to what Diodoros, who obviously had access to a copious source of myths, had added—this Dionysos was the old (Orphic) Dionysos, also called Sabazios: Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῖντα τούτου-φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινὶ Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον.

According to Alexander Polyhistor as quoted by Macrobius, the Thracian Sabazios was also Orphic; according to the former, the Thracians revered jointly Helios and Liber under the name of Sabazios: Item in Thracia eundem solem atque Liberum accepimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magnifica religione celebrant.⁸³ The theocrasia of Dionysos with Apollo and Helios was a widespread practice in antiquity, if one is to go by the very informative treatise on Apollo in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*; it was associated with the refor-

matory activity of the legendary Thracian king Orpheus⁸⁴ who '.... did not honour Dionysos, but revered the Sun calling it Apollo.'⁸⁵

In my opinion, the information which Macrobius and other writers supply and which was the result of the neo-Platonic re-evaluation of the Greek mythological heritage and has been positively assessed by contemporary historiography, is of great significance in elucidating the aniconic religion of the ancient Thracians and has been borne out by certain aspects of the Thracian monuments to the cult of Sabazios and Apollo from the Roman era. I have already pointed out that not every Thracian horseman, but only the mounted Apollo raised his hand in an attitude of *benedictio latina* and this has been established for those parts of Thrace where the oldest vestiges of the Thracian solar cult have so far been discovered. It was again the mounted Apollo who was given the epithet of γενι(α)κός associating him with Sabazios προγονικός, while the solar nature of the Thracian Sabazios is to be discerned in the inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum (III, 4, Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγιστος Σαβάζιος Ἀρσιληγος). The next question to come up then is: is not this chthonian Thracian Horseman, to whom solar aspects had been lent through Apollo, the Thracian iconographic pattern for the Orphic Dionysos-Apollo? This could also be conjectured on the basis of the previously reviewed iconography of the Thracian Sabazios. The association with the chthonian-vegetation principle of the Apollo myth was pointed out in connection with Daphne's representation on the Philipopolis relief (III, 17). Should not then the link provided by the snake—the basic characteristic feature and incarnation of Sabazios that is missing in the iconography of Dionysos, be viewed in the same chthonian context? And if initially Sabazios was really the god of plant fertility,⁸⁶ did he not also owe to his association with Apollo his function of protector of cattle-breeding, an aspect expressed on his monuments by the recurring representation of the ram?⁸⁷ And what about the lizard, the tortoise and the frog on the Sabazios monuments that have been accepted here as his cult's symbol of divination? Do they not provide a link with the myth of Apollo Saurochthonos or with the myth of Apollo's transformation into a tortoise so that he could marry Dryope?⁸⁸ Was not the power of divination (epigraphically attested in monuments III, 12 and 22) another link binding the two cults? Where else except in Thrace were there oracles of Dionysos at which 'the high priestess made prophetic utterances just like in Delphi'?⁸⁹ And was not the absence of women worshippers of the Sabazios cult in our monuments a consequence of the male Orphic societies attested in the myth about Zalmoxis?⁹⁰

A probable answer in the affirmative to these questions renders possible, in my opinion, the advancing of the hypothesis that the mounted Apollo of the Thracians was a local hypostasis of the Orphic Dionysos, i.e. of Sabazios.

This possibility is enhanced by the iconography of Sabazios in the relief at the British Museum (III, 22). Though this monument has been intentionally

quoted infrequently because of its unidentified provenance, it carries a number of features which refer it to the Thracian ethnocultural community. This is what allows me to adduce it as the earliest proof of the connection between the mounted Thracian deity and Sabazios.

My research into the monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos from the Hellenistic and the Roman eras in Macedonia have convinced me that that epithet was given to a henotheistic deity endowed with the traits of the Greek Zeus of the mountains and the Thraco-Phrygian Sabazios, whose origins went far back into Mycenaean times and earlier.⁹¹ In the Lydian and Phrygian parts of Asia Minor, the local Apollo who also betrayed Sabazian features, was identified with Hypsistos.⁹² But the research into the Thracian Apollo as portrayed on the monuments from the reign of the last Thracian kings of the Odrysaeen-Sapaeian dynasty also makes it possible to assume that that deity was given the epithet of Hypsistos⁹³ in Thrace as well. In such case, the syncretism between the chthonian and solar principles in the Hypsistos cult, which some scholars would like to associate with the tendency to monotheism under the influence of Judaism,⁹⁴ may prove to be (on the basis of the Thraco-Macedonian monuments) a much older phenomenon, the origins of which are to be traced back to ancient Thracian or Balkan religion. These observations raise doubts about the influence of Judaism over the syncretism in the Sabazios cult.⁹⁵ The spread of this cult among the Jews of the Dispersion, as well as the identification of Sabazios with Sabaoth are not to be discussed here since the monuments from the two provinces provide no data on these particular points; in my opinion, these phenomena are analogous to those in the cult of Hypsistos and are dealt with in the section on the monuments to Hypsistos in the two provinces.

Consequently, if in the Lydian-Phrygian and in the Thraco-Macedonian monuments a similar syncretism of Apollo and Sabazios is to be observed, then this comes to show that the phenomenon must have come about before the Thracian Dispersion.

IV. MONUMENTS WITH DEDICATIONS TO THE GOD (OR ZEUS) HYPHISTOS

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments

MOESIA INFERIOR

(IV, 1-2)

1. Odessos (?).

Plate LXIII

Two fragments of a marble slab: (a) discovered near the village of Markovo, Shoumen district. Measurements: $0.65 \times 0.55 \times 0.14$ m; (b) discovered at the Nymphaeum below the Madara Horseman near the village of Madara. Measurements: $0.34 \times 3.48 \times 0.08$ m, broken in two. The first fragment is at the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia (No 2221), and the second at the museum in Madara.

Mihailov, *IGB* II, 780; Tatscheva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* III in *Thracia* IV, 1977, 275, No 2, fig. 1.

From the representation on the first fragment of the slab has been preserved only a blazing altar and next to it a man making a libation and a bull girt with a sacrificial band. Above the bull is a rosette with eight petals. To its left are discernible traces of an inscription in two lines; on the second line Mihailov reads ΓΥΝ..., and Kalinka—ΣΥΝ, i.e. συν[νάοις?] [θεοῖς?]. On the second fragment are preserved female figures from the waist down, walking to the left; these Mihailov regards as worshippers, and Detschew as nymphs (believing the relic to have come from the Nymphaeum). In Mihailov's opinion, the left-hand side of the representation on the slab, now lost, had featured Jupiter. Below the representation, the following inscription is restored:

-----μου ὁ καὶ Παπίας οἰκοδομήσας τὸν πυ[λῶνα]
[καὶ καθιερώσ]ας τὸν τόπον Διὶ Ὑψ[ί]στῳ εὐχῆν-----
[--τὸ δὲ τρ[ί]τον μέρος ἐστὶν Διὸς χ[αί]-----

2nd-1st century BC.

Kalinka restores line 3 as follows: [τούτου δὲ τὸ τέταρ]τον ἐστὶν Διοσχ[όρων], but Mihailov has doubts since there is space for no more than 15 letters. The meaning of μέρος is unclear, according to Geron—μέρος τῶν προσόδων?

Mihailov's plausible view that the monument has in all probability originated from Odessos is confirmed by the name of the dedicator, a name typical of the onomastics of the Pontic cities and also of Odessos (see *IGB* I², 39, 56); the dedicator is in all likelihood a settler from Asia Minor.¹ According

to Kalinka, Hypsistos is here the Hebrew god Yahwe, while according to V. Parvan,² he is the Thraco-Egyptian god Zalmoxis-Gebeleisis.

Chronologically this monument is in line with the oldest dedications to the cult of Hypsistos in Macedonia. It carries the representation in relief of a cult scene which has a parallel in a monument from Kozani of the 2nd century BC also dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos.³ This last monument features a man with a himation thrown over his left shoulder (just like on the monument from Odessos) and holding in his right hand a phiale above a small altar. In the right-hand corner of the representation is a small column with a Doric capital, above which is depicted an eagle. The meaning of the cult scene may be further clarified with the help of a similar scene on a slab with a dedication to Zeus Sabazios from Lydia (101 AD*).

The god is portrayed in the act of libation on an altar. Toward him are advancing the worshippers in front of whom is depicted the sacrificial bull. To the left of the god must have been depicted an eagle, the invariable companion of Zeus—an assumption of Detschew's which has been confirmed by the Macedonian parallel.

The parallel instances adduced have given me ground to assume in the op.cit. that the monument represents a cult statue of Zeus Sabazios, identified with Zeus Hypsistos. The rest of the evidence will be discussed below.

2. Tomi.

Limestone slab. Measurements: 1.45 × 0.65 × 0.30 m. Much damaged.
At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 1476.

Gostar in *StCl* 5, 1963, 302; Idem, *Noi monumente epigrafice din Scythia Minor*, Constanța 1964, 74 fig. 5; Tatscheva-Hitova, o.c., 274, No 1.

Ἀγαθ[ῆι τύχηι]
Υψίστ[ωι θεωι?---]
κε ἀνέθη[κε-----]
Ἰωσθένο[ς----Καλλ].
5 ἰδρ[μος?-----]
θιασίτιοι καὶ ἱ[ε]-
ρε[ῦς----ION-A---]
εὐχαριστήρι[ον---]

In view of the context, the evolving of KE into καί (on line 3) offered by Gostar is not very acceptable. The photo of the monument in the publication is not very good, while the text is much damaged so as to allow a different, more reliable reading. On line 6 is the rarely occurring form of θιαστίοι instead of θιασῖται or θιασῶται. The restored names are not to be met with in the onomastics of the West Pontic cities. The inscription is valuable as evidence of the existence of a thiasos and a high priest (or priests-*cf.* line 6) of Hypsistos in Tomi.

THRACIA

(IV, 3-23)

3. Serdica.

Plate LXIV

During excavations in 1957, conducted by I. Venedikov and J. Mladenova of the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, parts of a building were discovered outside the city fortress wall next to the northern gates. Here were found six altars with a dedication to the god Hypsistos, two representations in relief of a god and an eagle, three marble and stone representations of eagles on semi-circular pedestals, as well as bases and capitals of columns (of the Anatolian type) and a metal sceptre.

According to the excavators (and their opinion is accepted by both G. Mihailov and B. Gerov), the finds belonged to a shrine of Hypsistos, which existed at least from the end of the 2nd century AD.

High relief of a male figure and an eagle, 0.81 m high, much damaged.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7829.

Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 278-9, No 3, Fig. 3.

On a semi-circular pedestal an eagle is perched, its wings outspread and preserved down to the first joint. The head is broken off, but the turn of the neck shows that it was facing right (the height of what has been preserved from the pedestal upwards is 0.59 m). The body and the upper part of the wings are covered with carefully incised small feathers. The long feathers of the wings reach down like a cloak on either side. The feathers on the shanks are marked with undulating parallel lines. Above the wings is the bust of a man uncovered to the waist. The head, neck and the left shoulder and arm are missing (the height of what has been preserved of the bust is about 0.22 m). The bust and the right arm down to the elbow show traces of gold foil. Around the waist is to be seen the garment with traces of red dye, with which the eagle must have likewise been painted (if one is to go by analogous cult statues). On the back is a trapeziform tip for fixing into a wall. On the bottom of the pedestal are holes for attaching to an altar. The stylistic features of the relief would refer it to the second half of the 2nd century.

As a companion to a number of gods in the Imperial age, the eagle was usually depicted in larger proportions than those of the god on the monuments to Zeus Sabazios.⁵ Here, however, the disproportionately large eagle is neither in front of or next to the god, but is carrying the god's bust.

The portrayal of an eagle carrying a god on its wings is not intrinsic to cult sculpture of the classical Graeco-Roman pantheon. It is, however, attested in representations in relief and on gems and coins from Syria and Alexandria of Helios, Heliopolitan Jupiter, Zeus, Sarapis. It is also to be seen on clay lamps of the Imperial age in Rome and Civita Lavinia.⁶ According to Cumont, this composition, made up of an eagle carrying on its wings a deity or a ruler, has

its distant prototype in the Babylonian legend of Etana and has been adopted from the Hellenistic tradition as a fundamental component element in the portrayal of the Roman emperors' deification. It is quite probable that the ground for this was laid by Alexander the Great during the funeral of the deified Hephaestion.⁷

Should we accept, following the assumption of the archaeologists, that the finds (among which there is still another similar representation) have come from a shrine to Hypsistos in Serdica, then it could be assumed with a great deal of certainty for this particular monument that it was a cult statue of the god in the shrine and that it carries the symbols of Eastern, respectively Semitic religious concepts.

4. Serdica.

Plate LXIV

Limestone base of a column or statue, discovered together with IV, 3. Measurements: height 0.65 m, width 0.41 m, depth 0.38 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7823.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1941; Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* III, 233, No 79; 188, n. 91 and 93; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 279, No 4.

[Θ]εῶ ἐπηρόω
 Ὑψιστῶ Πονπώ-
 νιος Θεόδουλος
 Λόπου ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ.

First half of the 3rd century, according to Gerov.

The name of the dedicator indicates a Roman citizen of Greek descent, while the name of Theodulos is linked with the monotheistic trends of the age, in Gerov's view.

5. Serdica.

Fragment (left-hand half) of a limestone altar decorated with *acroteria* and discovered together with IV, 3. Measurements: height 0.42 m, width 0.15 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7824, now lost (?).

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1942; Gerov, *o.c.*, 233, No 80; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 280, No 5.

Ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ].
 Θεῶ Ὑψ[ίστῳ]
 Διζου----
 εὐξάμ[ενος]
 5 ἀνέθ[ηκε].

The end of the 2nd-the beginning of the 3rd century, according to Gerov.

The name of Διζου[ζος] or Διζου[λος] (the restoration is by Mihailov) is Thracian (Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 133, 135). V. Georgiev's assumption that Ζις, Δις/Διϋ is the Thracian name of Zeus,⁸ something that I have indicated in the op.cit., is not accepted by G. Mihailov.

6. Serdica.

Plate LXV

Complexly profiled limestone base, decorated with *acroteria*; discovered together with IV, 3. Measurements: 0.47 × 0.27 × 0.23 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7828.

Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 280, No 6, fig. 4.

On the top surface, next to the front border, have been hewn out three exquisitely fashioned Roman lamps (0.08 m in diameter). The openings for the wick rose above the surface and had been broken off. The lamps have small round openings, and there are traces on the inside of their having been used. Behind the lamp in the middle and near the back border of the base is a circular groove where a lamp had quite possibly been inserted. Right behind it is a metal pin for affixing a representation in relief, the footprints of which are visible on either side. If one is to go by the finds in the temple, the representation was most probably that of an eagle.

The monument is an exceptional rarity because of the built-in lamps. According to Pausanias (VII 22, 2) there was in front of the herma of Hermes in Achaean an altar on which bronze lamps were affixed. They were lighted in the evening by those who wished to receive an oracle.

According to Nilsson, the use of lamps in divine service was introduced in the late Hellenistic age and was associated with the spread of oriental cult practices; it was typical of the cult rites to Mên Tyrannos, Magna Mater and Attis, as well as of the Hebrew cult. The latest investigations into the use of light in public worship by the different religions do not acknowledge the Hebrew priority in this respect. It is pointed out that the principal illuminant for the purposes of Hebrew worship was the seven-branched candelabrum (menorah); that with the Semitic Baalim light served no functional purpose. In the attempt to lay open the difference between the use of light in the Graeco-Roman and the oriental cults and oriental mystical religions, of particular difficulty is the fact that the latter's theology goes back to the Thracian and Phrygian religious concepts closely associated with the cult of the Great Mother.⁹

7. Serdica.

Plate LXVI

Limestone altar, complexly profiled, with *acroteria*; discovered together with IV, 3. Measurements: 0.55 × 0.25 × 0.23 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7826.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1943; Gerov, *o.c.*, III, 233, No 81; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 281, No 7, fig. 5.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
Πάνθια
θεῶ Ὑψίστ(ω)
εὐχαριστή-
5 ριον.

The beginning of the 3rd century, according to Gerov.

The single Greek theophoric name again bears the mark of monotheism and suggests the slave origin of the female dedicator.

On the top surface of the altar are to be seen, just as in IV, 6, three hollowed out lamps (0.075 m in diameter). They differ from the preceding ones in that they are open on top—they could have probably had separate (metal?) lids.

8. Serdica.

Plate LXVII

Upper part of a limestone altar discovered together with IV, 3. Measurements of preserved part: 0.23 × 0.035 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7828.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1944; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 281, No 8.

Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ
εἰερεὺς

Unfortunately, this very important inscription of a high priest is much damaged.

9. Serdica.

Two fragments of a votive inscription, discovered together with IV, 3. Measurements: 0.55 × 0.35 × 0.22 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 7839.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1946; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 282, No 10.

-μος Α[ι---]
-του καὶ---
ροβος Αι---
ητου θεῶ [Ὑψί]-
5 στῳ εὐχα[ριστή].
[ρι]ον.

The inscription is set in a rectangular panel. It was erected by two brothers whose names and patronymics cannot be restored from the preserved vestiges of the text.

10. Gourmazovo (the territory of **Serdica**).

Limestone column, broken off at the top. Measurements of the preserved part: 1.90 × 0.33 m. Now lost.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2014; Gerov, *o.c.*, 227, No 29; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 282, No 11.

Δορζιν-
 της Δινε-
 ος Δι(ι)
 Ὑψίσ-
 5 τω εὐχ-
 ήν.

In contrast to the other monuments from Serdica, here the epithet of Hypsistos is attributed to Zeus and not to the anonymous deity (θεός). The two names of the dedicator undoubtedly indicate that he was a Thracian (Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 149, 137 ff.). B. Gerov assumes that the dedicator was not an inhabitant of the unidentified ancient settlement near Gourmazovo, indicating another three inscriptions, which he justifiably associates with the same dedicator.¹⁰ They are of particular importance to the present study and will, therefore, be adduced here: (a) *IGB* III, 1209, from the Asclepieion near Batkoun. Part of a marble slab with a relief of the Thracian Horseman and an inscription: Δορζενθης Δ.... εὐχήν; (b) *IGB* III, 966, discovered near Plovdiv, now at the Belgrade museum. Marble votive tablet with a relief of the god next to a blazing rectangular altar. In his left hand the god is holding a sceptre and in his outstretched right hand, a patera for libation on the altar. In front of the sceptre is depicted an eagle of comparatively large proportions, turned towards the god. This representation draws Zeus (to whom the dedication was made) nearer to Sabazios¹¹ and to Hypsistos in the monuments from Odessos (IV, 1) and Macedonia.¹² Below the relief is the dedication: Κυρίῳ Διὶ Δορζενθης Δινεος εὐχήν; (c) *IGB* III, 965, discovered between Plovdiv and Pazardjik. Marble votive tablet with the relief of a god next to a blazing circular altar. In his left hand the god holds a sceptre and in his outstretched right one, a patera for libation on the altar. In front of the sceptre is depicted a smaller rectangular altar on which an eagle is perched. Above this altar is an inscription, a prayer which is continued in the dedication below the relief: Κυρίῳ Διί. Δορζενθης Δινεος δῶρον. Ἐκ τῶν δειράντων με ἐγδίκησον ἐν τῷ σῶ δρώμῳ.

In his commentary on the two latter inscriptions, G. Seure refers them to the 3rd century.¹³ He assumes that they came from one and the same shrine and were made in Thracia by an Anatolian settler. In his view, the text of the prayer on the altar is not accidental because it is a prayer to the deified eagle, the symbol of Helios with whom Zeus is fused in the monument; the prayer

was written in the Syro-Alexandrian style, in the language of the Septuagint; a characteristic feature in it is the appeal to the avenger god who inflicted punishment on the enemies of his devotees. In the prayer to the crime-avenging Sun, Cumont sees an old oriental tradition which goes back to the Babylonian veneration of Shamash.¹⁴ On the basis of this interpretation, the monuments carrying a prayer for exacting satisfaction from desecrators are usually referred to dedicators of Hebrew origin. This view is quite inapplicable to some of the monuments among which is the one under consideration here. The prayer for redemption here is no different in contents from the ones in the votive inscriptions dedicated to the Thracian Horseman and other high gods by the population of the Thracio-Macedonian region.¹⁵

11. *Turres* = III, 24.

A. von Domaszewski in *AEM* 10, 1886, 238, No 2; Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1924; Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi*, III, 188, 224-225, No 5; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 285, No 13.

The provenance of the monument is incorrectly indicated by M. Nilsson, followed by other scholars.¹⁶

- Ἀγαθῇ [τύ]χ[η]
 Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ Ὑψίστῳ
 εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν
 τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἱ-
 5 δίων διὰ ἱερέως
 Ἑρμογένους καὶ προ-
 στάτου Αὐγουστιανοῦ
 Ἀχιλλεύς, Αὐρῆλις, Δῖο(ς), Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος, Μοκας, Μο[κι]ανός,
 10 Δομήτις, Σοφεῖνος, Παυ-
 λεῖνος, Πύρος, Ἀπολινά-
 ρις, Μοκιανός, [Σ?]ηλυσ,
 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκ-
 ληπιάδου ΘΙΑ[---]Σεβαζι-
 15 ανός ΘΕ[---]ΤΟΥΤΑΣ ----

The end of the 2nd-the beginning of the 3rd century, according to Gerov.

The supplementing on lines 14-15: *θα[σος] Σεβαζιανός* is by Domaszewski. It has been accepted by a number of scholars, among whom more recently Nilsson and Mihailov. From an epigraphic point of view, the reading of B. Gerov, who thinks that *Σεβαζιανός* is a proper name, seems more convincing to me.

The ethnic affiliation of the collegium is varied; one sees persons of Thracian descent: *Μοκας*, [Σ?]ηλυσ, *Μοκιανός* (?) and maybe *Θια-*, *Τουτας*. The rest of the names are Greek and Roman with the exception of *Πύρος* and *Δῖο(ς)*,

which could also be Thracian. Some were Romanized local inhabitants or already Roman citizens. In Gerov's opinion, the members of the koinon were craftsmen and merchants from Serdica, who had introduced the cult in the road station of Turres.

The relic has drawn the attention of a number of researchers, who have used it as evidence in support of various hypotheses. Thus Rostovtsev,¹⁷ who accepts Domaszewski's reading of lines 14-15: *θείσος Σεβαζιανός*, associates this monument with the inscriptions from Tanais to the god Hypsistos featuring the eagle, the constant companion of Zeus Sabazios. Eisele¹⁸ and Cumont¹⁹ believe that the Pirot relic, just as the relief from Cyzicus,²⁰ suggests a fusion between the cults of Yahwe-Sabaoth and Sabazios. Kazarov accepts the above-mentioned view, indicating that the Thracio-Phrygian cult of Sabazios was identified with Sabaoth²¹ on the ground of a spurious etymology and under the influence of the Jewish Diaspora in Asia Minor.

In actual fact, the relic from Pirot does not in any way enhance the evidence in favour of a Hebrew origin of the devotees of the cult under consideration here, or in favour of an association with Sabaoth. It is much closer to the Tanais monuments to Hypsistos, the dedicators of which were likewise exclusively men and in which the link with Sabazios may be assumed owing to the representation of an eagle. The collegium's and likewise the cult's link with that of Hypsistos may also be looked for in the theophoric name of its high priest Hermogenes, something that we shall also see for the dedicator of the monument from Aquae Calidae (IV, 17). As is known, Hermes was one of Sabazios' companions on many of his monuments (see III, B, 5), while ancient tradition has it that Hermes took the pure in soul to Hypsistos.

12. Zeleni Grad (near Trun on the territory of **Pautalia**).

Part of a limestone altar. Measurements of preserved part: $0.54 \times 0.77 \times 0.72$ m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1243.

Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2111; Gerov, *o.c.*, I, 317, No 228; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 286, No 14.

Θεῶι Ὑψί[στωι]
 ὑπὲρ Αὐφιδίων οἴκων
 [--Αὐ]φίδιο[ς---]

The second half of the 2nd or early 3rd century, according to Gerov. A. B. Cook²² incorrectly places the monument in Moesia. B. Gerov indicates that *Αὐφιδίων οἴκοι* was in all likelihood a family partnership of tax-farmers in Thracia. Though Auphidius is a rarely occurring Italic name, he stresses that the members of this family were of Eastern origin or were connected in the female line with the Eastern provinces (on the basis of this monument with a

dedication to Hypsistos he assumes their Hebrew origin).²³ Dedications by members of this household have been discovered in Pazardjik and Kyustendil districts and in Ratiaria (*IGB* III, 1329; IV 2109; V 2239; *GNM* IV, 54, No 13) and they suggest that the family had a definite role to play in Roman Thracia.

There was a custom-house not far from Zeleni Grad, where a temple to Apollo has also been attested.²⁴

13. Philippopolis.

Plate LXVII

Marble high relief, of which only the bottom part—the body of an eagle—has been preserved. Measurements: 0.20 × 0.17 × 0.06 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, No 3771.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 937; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 287, No 15.

In the panel of the pedestal on which the eagle is perched one reads the following inscription:

Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ
ΑΤΠΓ

14. Assenovgrad (the territory of Philippopolis).

Plate LXVIII

Upper part of a marble column; the height of the preserved part is 0.42 m with a diameter of 0.24 m.

At the museum of history in Assenovgrad.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1431; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 287, No 16.

Ἀγαθῇ τύ-
χη.
Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ ἐ-
πηχόῳ---

15. Dink (the territory of Philippopolis).

Plate LXVIII

Bronze plaque with *ansae*. Measurements: 0.078 × 0.079 × 0.001 m.

At the archaeological museum in Plovdiv, No 963.

Kazarov in *GPLNBM* 1923, 201, fig. 2; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 287, No. 17.

Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ
Γ(αίος) Μαίλιος Ἀγαθό-
πους ὑπὲρ τῆς
τῶν πατρῶνων
5 Γ(αίου) Μαιλίου Ἀκύλου κα(ὶ)
Φλαουίας Τιουττης

καὶ τέκνων αὐ-
τῶν σωτηρίας καὶ ἐ-
αυτοῦ χαριστήρι(ο)ν.

The name of Thiuta is Thracian and occurs in Philippopolis and its territory (*IGB* III, 1005, 1010, 1348). The dedicator was very possibly a freed slave of Eastern origin.

16. Anchialus.

Marble altar, now lost. Measurements: 0.46 × 0.29 m.

Mihailov, *IGB* I², 371; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 288, No 18.

Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ δεσπ[ό]-
τῃ Πολυ[-]ρος ὑ[πέρ]
[τ]ῶν τέκνων καὶ ἐ-
αυτοῦ εὐχαριστή-
5 ριον.

It is difficult to tell to whom Zeus Hypsistos owes here the epithet of δεσπότης—whether to the Greek Zeus or to the Syrian despot gods. This epithet is associated with Hygieia and Asklepius in Egypt, with Pluto in Macedonia in the Roman age, while the despot gods (κύριοι) of Thracian religion were Apollo and the Thracian Heros.²⁵

17. Aquae Calidae (near Aitos, the territory of Anchialus).

Marble altar, profiled on top and bottom. Measurements: 0.20 × 0.115 m.
At the museum of history in Bourgas.

Lazarov in *IAI* 26, 1964, 189, No 11, fig. 3; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 288, No 19.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
[Θ]εῷ Ὑψίστῳ
Χρῆσμος
Ἑρμογένου
5 ὑπέρ τῶν
ἰδίων
εὐχαριστῶ.

The beginning of the 3rd century.

The theophoric name of Hermogenes has been attested at Bizone and Tirizis (*IGB* I², 12 bis, 12 ter), Pizus (*IGB* III, 1690), in the inscription from Pirot (IV, 11), etc. As far as I know, Χρῆσμος does not occur in the inscriptions from the two provinces and that suggests that the dedicator was in all likelihood an immigrant.

18. Bizye (the territory of Anchialus).

Cagnat, *IGRR* I, 777; Cook, *Zeus* II, 878, No (10); Mihailov, *IGB* I², 399; lemma; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 288, No 20.

This inscription was said to have come from Selymbria by Cagnat and Cook, but its place of origin is Bizye as established and accepted in *Prosop. imp. rom.*, III, p. 131, No 51 and by Mihailov as well.

[Θεῶ]ι ἁγίῳι Ὑφίστῳι
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοιμη-
 [τάλ]κου καὶ Πυθο-
 δωρίδος ἐκ τοῦ κα-
 5 τὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λ]ητικόν
 πόλεμον κινδύνου
 σωτηρίας εὐξάμενος
 καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν Γαίος
 Ἰούλιος Πρόκ(λ)ος χαρι-
 10 στ[ήρι]ον.

The dedication is on behalf of the reigning dynast Rhoemetalkas II, son of Rescuporis and his wife Pythodoris, daughter of Kotys, assassinated by Rescuporis, and of Antonia Tryphaena. The god was entreated and he granted the request to save them from the threat of the rebel Celaetae, Odrysae and Dii in 21 AD.²⁶ G. Julius Proclos, the inscription's dedicator, has a Greek name and Imperial Romanization; this suggests that he very likely was an Anatolian, and one of the retinue of the Bosporan princess Antonia Tryphaena. Her parents, Polemon I and Pythodoris the Elder, were related to prominent Romanophile families from Laodicea and Tralleis.²⁷ In Cyzicus, where later Antonia Tryphaena carried through extensive public and charitable activities,²⁸ the cult of the god Hypsistos is attested by monuments of the pre-Roman and Roman ages.

19. Berge (near Seres).

BCH 81, 1957, 606, fig. 3; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 290, No 22.

At the museum in Kavalla.

Relief of an eagle, perched on a pedestal, his head broken off; height of the preserved part 0.285 m. The pedestal carries the following inscription:

Διὶ Ὑφίστῳ----

3rd century.

20. Berge.

Plate LXIX

At the museum in Kavalla, No Α 143. Unpublished. The relic is indicated in my article *Dem Hypsistos geweihte Denkmäler in den Balkanländern* in *Balkan Studies* 19, 1978, I, 65, n. 21, with the kind permission of Dr Chaido Kukuli-Chrysantaki.

On the skilfully sculpted head of a bull, an eagle is perching. The following inscription may be read on the monument:

Διὶ Ὑφίστῳ Τοκῆς καὶ Ἰσίδωρος

21. Neapolis - Kavalla.

Thrakika 6, 1935, 302-310 (non vidi); *RA* 1937, II, 385, No 168; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 289, No 21.

Διὶ Ὑφίστῳ εὐχαρισ[τή]ριον ὑπὲρ
κυρίου βασιλέως Ῥοιμητάλκα Κότυος
καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ· Εὐτυχος ὁ ἐπὶ
τῶν λατόμων καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες.

37/38-45 AD.

The dedication is on behalf of Rhoemetalkas III, brother of Pythodoris and eldest son of the assassinated Kotys; he was set up as king in 37/38 by Caligula, together with whom he was educated and to whom he was related through Antonia Tryphaena. He was killed in 45.²⁹ The dedicator has a single Greek name, which was customary for slaves; he could have been of local origin if one is to go by the dedication to Zeus Hypsistos (and not to Theos Hypsistos as in IV, 20), which is typical of the Macedonian relics of this cult.³⁰ The first publication was unavailable to me and I am not sure, therefore, judging by the two inscriptions from Berge (IV, 19, 20), that the relic originated in Neapolis. Even if this is so, its inclusion among the monuments from Thracia is beyond doubt, as is to be inferred from the text.

* * *

22. Serdica.

Plate LXIX

Hollow clay object of semi-spherical shape, 0.132 m high.

At the Museum of the History of Sofia.

Stancheva in *MPK* VII, 1967, 2, 6 ff., No 1, fig. 1; Tatscheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 285, No 12.

The front part of the object (along the diameter of the semi-spherical base) is shaped like an *aedicula*. In the panel between the pilasters is depicted an amphora of the Greek type with an eagle perched on it. The eagle faces front, its wings are outspread and its head is turned to the right. Above the *aedicula*, in place of the *acroteria* and on top of the pediment are small semi-spherical

cups. According to the writer, this was a cult object meant for everyday usage and was associated with the shrine of Hypsistos in Serdica.³¹ She also draws a convincing parallel with the cult bowls with similar small cups at the shrine of Zeus and Hera in Kopilovtsi. The only unconvincing point in the interpretation is, in my view, the linking of the monument to the spread of the Zeus cult in Serdica.

23. Perinthus.

Abacus of a column or pillar with sculpted decoration, 0.38 m high.
In the Stamoulis collection at Rodosto.

Dumont-Homolle, 370, No 62 b 25; Seure in *BCH* 36, 1912, 543, No 3, fig. 4.

The sculpted decoration represents the upper part of a bull's head; between the horns is the representation of an eagle, its wings and head broken off. This relic could be referred with a great deal of certainty to the cult, if one takes into account the similar relic with a dedication to the god from Berge (IV, 20).

B. Interpretation

1. Historiography

In contemporary literature, Hypsistos is viewed as an outward manifestation of the syncretic trends of the age on the strength of information supplied by Valerius Maximus (I, 3, 2) and according to which the praetor Hispalus chased out of Rome in 139 BC the Jews who were devotees of the Roman cult of Jupiter Sabazios. Hence M. Nilsson arrives at the inference that Sabazios was identified with Sabaoth; the identification was made possible rather because of the acceptance of Sabazios as a god by the worshippers of Sabaoth and this is how the same author explains the fusion of Yahwe with Dionysus. This last phenomenon was facilitated by the identification of Sabazios with Zeus Hypsistos in Asia Minor. By pointing out that Hypsistos was an adjective applicable to Zeus and other high gods, Nilsson indicates that both the Semitic Baalim and Yahweh were thus described; that the influence of monotheism as well as the Hebrews' predilection for identifying Yahweh with other pagan deities have given substance to the neutral expression of 'God Hypsistos'; this, again in Nilsson's opinion, is supported by the fact that the name occurs in the Septuagint and in inscriptions from Asia Minor, where the Seleucids resettled a numerous Jewish diaspora.³² Recently B. Nadel supported the assumption that the eagle on the Hypsistos monuments likewise suggests Hebrew influence.³³ And this is being advanced after Schuerer, the eminent authority on Hebrew history, hesitated over defining the monuments

from the Bosporan kingdom as Hebrew, by pointing out that the Hypsistos worship there was neither Hebrew nor pagan, but that the one neutralized the other.³⁴

The opinions advanced in our historiography on the dedications to Hypsistos have been expressed pre-eminently in connection with the publications of the inscriptions and, very probably for this reason, do not differ much from the views of the eminent authorities on ancient religions such as F. Cumont, M. Nilsson and others. The first popularizers in our country of what has been discovered by European historiographers about Hypsistos are Y. Todorov³⁵ and G. Kazarov. In his article on the Thracian religion in the *Real Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa,³⁶ he seems inclined to accept Rostovtzeff's opinion, according to which Hypsistos on the monuments from the Bosporan kingdom was the local high god and a syncretic formation from the cults of Ahura-Mazda and the Thracian Sabazios.³⁷ Though a large number of newly discovered monuments have been indicated in his article, European science continues up to the present too to use only those inscriptions from the Thracian lands which have been indicated by A. B. Cook (IV, 11, 12, 16, 18).³⁸

Archaeological investigations in this country have in recent years caused a substantial increase in the number of dedications to Hypsistos from the two provinces. Of particular importance was the discovery of the relics from the so-called shrine of Hypsistos in Serdica in 1957. Part of them (the inscriptions) were included in Mihailov's corpus (*JGB* IV, 1935, 1941-1946). The kindness shown me by Professor I. Venedikov by placing at my disposal the two monuments (IV, 3, 6) had as a result my study on the Hypsistos monuments, written in 1974.³⁹ In it I rejected the possibility of identifying Hypsistos with the Hebrew god in our monuments and associated the epithet with Zeus-Sabazios and Apollo. My formulation there is based on the detailed investigation of the Bosporan monuments by M. Rostovtzeff and that of the Anatolian ones by A. Kraabel.

And now, five years later, I still think that I am on the right course. The presentation here differs from the above-mentioned study, aside from some minor corrections and a few more precise definitions and the supplementing of iconographic observations (IV, B, 3), in one more point. In a conversation with Professor B. Gerov, I was convinced in the justification of an assumption of his and have accepted it here. It concerns the reading of lines 14-15 in the inscription from Turre (IV, 11), in which Professor Gerov does not accept the restoration of: Θ[ε]α[ς] Σεβ[α]στιανός.

If here or in my other studies of the Hypsistos monuments I should have overinterpreted the evidence to the extreme opposite of the views I have rejected, this is due first and foremost to an insufficient knowledge of the Anatolian monuments, as well as to the desire to throw a little more light on the Thracian religion by way of the monuments from the Roman age.

2. *Epigraphic Monuments. Names and Epithets of the God. Nature of the Dedications*

Our information on the worship of Zeus or another God with the epithet of Hypsistos in Moesia Inferior and Thracia is based solely on the monuments with dedications. The absence of an established iconographic type in the representations in relief, just as much here as in the other areas of diffusion, does not allow the drawing of a parallel between closely resembling monuments without an explicit indication of appurtenance to the worship of Hypsistos.⁴⁰

This is the reason why the far from numerous dedications are reviewed here: on altars (IV, 5, 7-9, 11, 12, 16, 17); columns (IV, 10, 14); bases (IV, 4, 6); sculpted representations of eagles (IV, 13, 19, 23?); a slab with a cult scene (IV, 1); a votive inscription without a representation (IV, 2); bronze plaque with ansae (IV, 15). The relief of a god borne by an eagle (IV, 3), as well as an altar with lamps (IV, 6) have been included because they were found together with the inscriptions (IV, 4-8) to Hypsistos. The cult object with the representation of an eagle (IV, 22) remains uncertain in spite of a convincing interpretation. Here have not been included another three representations of eagles set on semi-circular pedestals, as well as a sculptural composition of a god and an eagle, which were discovered together with relics IV, 3-9 and which were unavailable to me.⁴¹

The inscriptions dedicated to Hypsistos are exclusively in Greek and in them he is referred to as Zeus Hypsistos (IV, 1, 10, 15, 19-21) or the God Hypsistos (IV, 4, 5, 7-9, 11-14, 16-18).

In other provinces of the Empire dedications are likewise to be met with only to "Υψιστος, or ὁ θεὸς ὁ "Υψιστος or to *Iuppiter summus exsuperantissimus*.

As far as chronology is concerned, no conclusive inferences could be made on the dedications to Zeus or the God Hypsistos. It is quite true that on the earliest relic from Odessos (IV, 1) one reads Zeus Hypsistos, but already in the inscriptions of the Thracian kings who were of one and the same generation (IV, 18, 21) one sees both versions. This coexistence is to be observed in the Roman age⁴² as well, but there is a preponderance of dedications to the God Hypsistos. The difference in the dedications was obviously not on territorial grounds, but rather implied a specific god and that is obvious in the cases of Zeus Hypsistos. These cases betray the influence of the ancient tradition of Zeus-Sabazios Hypsistos of the Hellenistic Macedonian royal court,⁴³ especially in relation to the monuments from Berge, a tradition that was continued in the monuments of the province of Macedonia. Here follows the logical question of how to explain the presence of the God Hypsistos in Serdica and its territory, where the cult of Zeus Sabazios was widespread (see III, B, 2). In my view, the answer should be sought just as much in the absence

of the Thracian Hellenistic tradition in these parts, as in the influence of eastern settlers. If the evidentiary value of the answer should be accepted, then it would carry greater weight for the dedications to the God Hypsistos in the region of Anchialus in view of my assumption on the use of the epithet of Hypsistos by the last Thracian kings for the Thracian high god Apollo.⁴⁴

What is more, this answer has its confirmation also in the interpretation of the epithets used in the inscription: ἐπήκοος (IV, 4, 11, 14), δεσπότης (IV, 16) and ἄγιος (IV, 18). Here it is of importance because it provides evidence for the above advanced answer, as well as for the place of the gods entitled to the epithet of Hypsistos from among the high gods in the Thracian pantheon. Thus, ἐπήκοος is typical of a long list of deities (but most of all of the Thracian Horseman, Apollo, Asklepius, Sabazios), of whom one expected not so much recovery (as is usually indicated), but also assistance, support and safety. The epithet of δεσπότης occurs rarely in the Thracian monuments and, in addition to Hypsistos, it is associated with Apollo and the Thracian Heros. "Ἄγιος is an epithet which occurs on our monuments only here."⁴⁵ I know of just one other case of its being used in relation to Hypsistos in Caria.⁴⁶ Closely related in meaning, the epithet of ἄγνός has been used in our monuments again only for Apollo from among the male deities.⁴⁷

The preserved texts in the monuments show that they were for the most part votive, offered after prayer on behalf of the dedicator or his near and dear, or for the sake of redemption (IV, 15—ὕπὲρ σωτηρίας; IV, 18—for deliverance from danger). It is difficult for me to see in the deliverance expected of Hypsistos in the inscriptions from the rest of the areas of diffusion any Syrian or Hebrew influence, as is often asserted. This phenomenon has its general explanation in Greek public and spiritual life and relates to a number of deities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon in the Empire and in our two provinces.

The formula of Ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ precedes the dedications in a number of monuments (IV, 5, 7, 11, 14, 17). It is very typical of our relics and did not refer to the goddess of the same name, as in other monuments to Hypsistos.

In the Thracian monuments the formula of εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐπιτυχών occurs at the earliest in the inscription on behalf of Rhoemetalkas II (IV, 18), and then later in individual dedications to Apollo, the Thracian Heros and Asklepius.

This survey of epigraphic data which characterize the monuments to Hypsistos from the Thracian lands, shows that the epithets and formulae coincide with those used by the most widespread local cults in Thracia. One cannot find a trace of any cultural or religious concept that was alien to local cult traditions. This inference has two particularly important corollaries: in the first place, it confirms the closeness of the concepts as to the nature and functions of Hypsistos, the Thracian Horseman, Apollo, Asklepius, Zeus Sabazios; in the second place, the inference assigns the absorption of oriental influences in the religious terminology to the period of creation of the

Hellenistic community, influences that were duly taken up in the Thracian lands as well. In forming the stock-in-trade of religious epithets, terms and formulae of the Hellenistic community, the Balkan as well as the oriental religions, had an equal share. The entities lost their concreteness and specificity and became a characterization of the identical functions appropriate to deities of different religions.

3. *Iconography*

As I have already indicated (see IV, B, 2), the monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos do not have an established iconography and symbols. Monuments with representations in relief from Asia Minor, from where we have available the greatest number of dedications, occur rarely. In contrast to them, the Macedonian monuments offer more information over a long span of time. Chronologically, they have priority, and likewise an influence over the Anatolian and Bosporan monuments, which also attach the epithet of Hypsistos to Sabazios.⁴⁸ This iconographic tradition of the Macedonian monuments to Zeus Hypsistos stems from the Greek interpretation of Zeus, accompanied by an eagle or represented by an eagle.

In respect to iconography, our monuments come in several variants:

(a) representations of an eagle (perched on a pedestal with a dedication); to this group belong the relics from Philippopolis (IV, 13) and Berge (IV, 19), as well as the three unpublished monuments from the shrine in Serdica (see under IV, 3). The only parallel to these monuments that I know of is a relic from Thyateira with a dedication to the God Hypsistos. In connection with this monument some researchers indicate that the eagle was not only the symbol of Zeus and the high mountain gods akin to him, but also of the Syrian Baalim and the Hebrew god;⁴⁹

(b) representations of an eagle perched on a bull's head; to this group belong the finds discovered solely near Neapolis (IV, 20, 23). The dedications are to Zeus Hypsistos, and not to the anonymous god and the reason for this may be sought in the influence of the Macedonian tradition. As far as I know, monuments with a similar iconography and dedications to Hypsistos have not so far been discovered anywhere else. The symbolism of the eagle perched on a bull's head has a parallel in the monuments to Jupiter Dolichenus from the European provinces of the empire; in these monuments the eagle is of primary importance (in some sculptural compositions its representation is to be seen twice or three times). In Merlat's opinion, the eagle and the bull symbolize just as much the god's essence as the god himself. The role of the eagle he attributes to the symbolism of the eastern religions, and especially the Syrian, and is inclined to see it as a celestial rather than a solar symbol; without overlooking the Greek influence as a factor in the Hellenized or Romanized

Baalim, he points to the significance of the eagle as an attribute of their Hittite-Hurritan and Syrian predecessors.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the closeness between our monuments to Hypsistos and the Dolichenian ones is not solely iconographic. A dedication to Dolichenus from Italy is known, in which he is called *exuperantissimus* = *exsuperantissimus* and that was the Latin equivalent of ὑψίστος in use since the reign of Commodus.⁵¹ According to Merlat, Dolichenus had been attributed this epithet owing to the properties he shared in common with the Greek Zeus and the Syrian gods, who inhabited the celestial sphere and manifested their presence through thunder and lightning. The link between the eagle and the bull, however, precludes the possibility of looking for a Hebrew religious influence in the monuments under consideration;⁵²

(c) The third iconographic type consists of representations in relief of the god's bust borne by an eagle; it is attested by two monuments from Serdica (IV, 3 and another, an unpublished one, indicated there). I do not know of any close parallel instance to this type of monuments from among the relics of the same religious cycle. In addition to the quoted exemplars of similar iconography from Syria and Alexandria, I should also like to indicate the low relief from the Aventine which features the busts of Sarapis and Isis above the outspread wings of an eagle.⁵³ Between the claws of the eagle is depicted a thunder-bolt and under it, a blazing altar. On either side of this central group are portrayed Dolichenian Jupiter and Juno. In Merlat's view, this relief symbolizes the glorification of the Egyptian gods and their having been raised to the rank of cosmic deities through their fusion with the Dolichenian ones. According to him, this relic from the end of the 2nd century AD illustrates the fight that was underway for supremacy between the two cults, a fight the outcome of which marked the victory of the Syrian couple⁵⁴ in the mid-3rd century. This last assumption was justifiably contested in the literature and the rectification was acknowledged by Merlat in view of the flourishing of the Egyptian cults towards the middle of the 3rd century and the noticeable decline of the Syrian one. According to Vidman's interpretation, the high priests of Dolichenus tried hard to find a way of popularizing the soldiers' cult among the educated classes in Rome by the adoption of other deities, notably the Egyptian ones.⁵⁵

I believe that this phenomenon could be clarified further in its historical, religious and ideological aspects. The rivalry between the two cults was in actual fact a combat between the Sarapis cult, which brought military victories to the emperors in the inscriptions from the age of the Antonines and the Severi (see I, B, 5) and the Dolichenian cult, worshipped by the Roman legionaries and having a greater number of devotees among the rank-and-file soldiers and their social equals. Proceeding from the Aventine relief, Merlat indicates, quite justifiably in my opinion, that it symbolized the raising of the

Egyptian deities to the level of the Syrian ones and that this could have also meant a struggle by the former for influence among the lower social orders of Roman society—this is at least how things look in the provinces under consideration here, and especially at Serdica (see I, B, 6) where the identification of Capitoline Zeus-Helios-Sarapis was an official political act (see I, 34). Moreover, in concluding the review of this type of monuments, I would like to call attention to several other facts, namely: the representation of Sarapis borne by an eagle on coins from Tomi from the reign of Alexander Severus and Gordian III (see I, B, 5 and notes 69, 71)—to my knowledge, the only parallel from the provinces to the Alexandrian coin issues of this type; the dedication to Hypsistos from the Serapeion at Thessalonica;⁵⁶ the inscription to Hypsistos Sarapis from the environs of Bracara Augusta.⁵⁷

The iconographic interpretation indicates first and foremost that it is very difficult to draw a line between the contribution of the Syrian and the Graeco-Macedonian symbolisms, attested in our monuments; such a differentiation, however, is not of any great significance for the period under review, a period characterized by extensive and varied syncretism and an aspiration after monotheism. In my belief, it shows quite clearly that in our monuments Hypsistos was used as an epithet for the cosmic gods, among whom one may assume Zeus-Sabazios and Zeus-Sarapis, and also possibly some of the Syrian Baalim, if one is to go by the pronounced Syrian symbolism in the monuments of the last two groups.

4. *Provenance of the Monuments. Chronology and Centres*

The general review of the monuments under consideration in the present study establishes first of all the inconsiderable spread of the Hypsistos worship in the Thracian lands.⁵⁸

Only two monuments are known from Moesia Inferior, in spite of the intensive archaeological study it had been subjected to in the last two decades—from the Pontic cities of Odessos and Tomi (IV, 1, 2). The Odessitan relic is the earliest dated dedication to Hypsistos in the area under consideration (2nd-1st century BC), while the monument from Tomi marks the northernmost point of penetration of the worship. When one bears in mind the almost total absence of evidence from the territories to the north and west of the Thraco-Macedonian area, it may be assumed that the penetration and diffusion of the Hypsistos cult was limited to the regions which fell under the influence of the Hellenistic cultural and religious traditions.

South of the Haemus, in the province of Thracia, the monuments pinpoint several centres of diffusion: Serdica and its territory (IV, 3-11), Philippopolis and its territory (IV, 13-15), Anchialus and its territory (IV, 16-18), Berge (IV, 19, 20, 21?). The relic from Gourmazovo (IV, 10) belongs rather to the Philip-

popolis ones, if one is to go by the other monuments of the same dedicator (see under IV, 10), while that from Zeleni Grad (IV, 12) belongs to the Serdican.

The dating of the dedications to Hypsistos reveals an unequal spread. In spite of the proximity of Macedonia, which has been indicated as the centre of the original diffusion, the spread during the Hellenistic age was negligible—the only early evidence to have been dated with certainty is the monument from Odessos. Together with the already quoted monuments from Macedonia and Lydia, it reveals in my opinion, both in the representation and in the dedication to Zeus, a syncretic Zeus Sabazios of the Thracio-Macedonian area as the deity which at the earliest received the epithet of Hypsistos.

The actual beginning of the cult's diffusion began in the reign of the last Thracian kings in the first half of the 1st century AD (IV, 18, 21). As it appears, they borrowed the epithet of Hypsistos for their Apollo from their Bosporan kinsmen,⁵⁹ and not from their Macedonian neighbours. The annexation of the Odrysian kingdom in 45 signaled the premature end of this syncretic trend in the religious life of the Thracian population.

The last manifestation of the spread of the Hypsistos cult is referred most generally to the age of the Severi and was influenced by or linked with the arrival of masses of settlers of Anatolian origin. Hypsistos, represented in this epoch with or only by his eagle, predominated mainly in Serdica, Philippopolis and their territories.

5. Ethnic Origin and Social Status of the Dedicators

The monuments to Hypsistos in Thracia bring to light persons belonging to various social strata. Some are associated with members of the last Thracian royal house and their close companions (IV, 18, 21). The inscriptions from the Roman age, however, do not suggest an affiliation of the dedicators to the privileged strata of Thracian provincial society. The greater part of them were not Roman citizens (IV, 11 from Tures; IV, 4, 5, 7 from Serdica; IV, 17 from Aquae Calidae); the dedicator of the monument from Dink was obviously a freed slave (IV, 15). From among the dedicators here, as well as from among those in the other areas of diffusion, Hypsistos was alien to individuals of the military profession. As it appears, in Thracia of the Roman age, worshippers of Hypsistos were in all probability small merchants and producers, whose monuments definitely do not suggest material well-being.

The information on the ethnic origin of the devotees is more ample, though in a number of cases it is concealed behind the numerous theophoric names (both proper and patronymic) derived from god (IV, 4, 7), eagle (IV, 15), Hermes (IV, 11, 16). The impression is created that there are Thracians among

these persons and that occurs rarely in the cults of Dolichenus and the Egyptian deities.

The monuments under consideration here show a complete lack of certain information—and that is of particular importance for the inferences in the present study—about persons of Hebrew origin to have been directly or indirectly associated with Hypsistos. Of no less significance in my belief is the consideration that it is impossible for the present to ascertain in an epigraphic or any other way the presence of Jews in the Thracian lands in the Hellenistic and Roman ages. That is to say, there is no evidence of a Hebrew social environment which would have encouraged the appearance of persons associated with Hebrew monotheism or of proselyte or semi-proselyte organizations, such as were the Bosporean collegia in the opinion of some researchers. And so, of certainly Thracian descent were Διζουζος (Διζουλος?) (IV, 5 from Serdica), Δορξενθης Δινεος (IV, 10 from Gourmazovo), Φλαουία Τιουτα (IV, 15 from Dink), the two Thracian kings (IV, 18, 21). Thracian descent may be assumed for Πονπώνιος Θεόδουλος Λόπου (IV, 4 from Serdica), Τουτας, Μοχιανός, Πύρος, [Σ?]ήλυς, Θια-, Μοκας (IV, 11 from Turres), that is to say that Thracians are to be detected in almost half of the inscriptions with the names preserved. It is obvious that the Thracian population of the province was not so indifferent to Hypsistos as, for example, to Jupiter Dolichenus, whom they failed to accept (see V, B, 5) in spite of their service in the Roman army. It is quite possible that the reason for the acceptance of Hypsistos should be sought in the nature of the deity which was honoured with this epithet and which stood closer to the Thracian heart.

While the monuments to Hypsistos dedicated by the two Odrysian kings (IV, 18, 21) may be associated with the influence of the members of the Bosporean royal house, a series of monuments from the Roman age should be associated with settlers from the Hellenistic east in Thracia, and these may be detected in the cumulative epigraphic evidence in the inscriptions from Odessos, Tomi, Aquae Calidae, Zeleni Grad, Turres (IV, 1, 2, 17, 12, 11).

There is no certain evidence in the Hypsistos monuments from the Thracian lands on people of Italic descent or Romans.

6. *The Cult and Its Organizations. High Priests, Shrines, Illuminants in Cult Practices*

Among the monuments with dedications to Hypsistos there are very few containing information—whether exhaustive or not—about how the cult functioned. There are only three inscriptions (from the Roman age) which mention high priests (IV, 1 from Odessos; IV, 8 from Serdica; IV, 11 from Turres). All three are only partially preserved and one cannot tell with certainty even whether they were high priests of Zeus (or the God) Hypsistos, or of

another god. Just the Turres high priest's name, which is theophoric, has been preserved. The information on the cult organizations and collegia is even scantier; such is absent even from the monuments found at the assumed shrine of Hypsistos in Serdica. In the much fragmented inscription from Tomi (IV, 2) there is evidence of a thiasos. The inscription from Turres (IV, 11) offers a little more information. It reveals that the dedication was made by a cult society (*κοινόν*), headed by a leader (*προστάτης*). B. Gero indicates that the above-mentioned high priest belonged to this same cult society, while S. Koic thinks that the leader too had sacred functions;⁶⁰ in my opinion, either assumption is difficult to substantiate, both because of the diversity of meaning of *προστάτης*,⁶¹ and also in view of the separation, known from other cults, of the priesthood from the cult organizations of the devotees. There is also some uncertainty in defining the term of *κοινόν* as a cult society; this uncertainty, however, is diminished to a degree by the inscription's closeness to the dedications of the Tanais collegia⁶² both in their nature as well as in their exclusively male membership in contrast to, for instance, the collegium from Pydna (Macedonia).⁶³

Any direct evidence about temples or shrines in the Thracian lands is actually absent. And that is true not just of the Tracian lands; for the whole of the Balkan peninsula science has available nothing more than the information supplied by Pausanias (ix, 8, 5) on a shrine in Thebes; as far as I know, that is how matters also stand in relation to the rest of the areas of distribution of the Hypsistos dedications. This total absence of direct information seems to lend justification to Kalinka's reading of the text of the Odessitan monument (IV, 1); it is quite possible for monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos to have been set up at sacred places of other cults just as, in Kalinka's opinion, the Dioskouroi were associated with Hypsistos.

The view accepted by our historiography to the effect that the edifice in which the Serdica dedications were discovered was a temple to Hypsistos (see under IV, 3), has already been indicated. In actual fact, there is ground for doubts about this assumption, namely the fact that the site, owing to objective reasons, has not been fully investigated, that it was situated beyond the fortress wall, and also that a monument to Asclepius has come to light there (see *IGB IV*, 1935).

If the epigraphic evidence on high priests and cult collegia is accepted as a criterion in defining shrines (though obviously it is not as valid here as in other cults), then such may be presumed in Tomi (IV, 1, evidence about a high priest and thiasos), Serdica (IV, 8, high priest, uncertain archaeological testimony about a cult edifice) and Turres (IV, 11, high priest and *κοινόν*).

These observations, as well as the absence of literary and epigraphic evidence on the specificity of the cult organizations and the cult ritual in general make one have justifiable doubts about the actual existence of an

established cult with a life of its own and its own shrines, or whether Hypsistos was just an epithet attached to the most highly revered, supreme deity. Particularly suggestive in this respect are the monuments of Dordzenthēs Dineos dedicated to the mounted Thracian god, Zeus (κύριος), Zeus (Helios-Sabazios?) and Zeus Hypsistos (see under IV, 10).

The lamps on the altars from Serdica (IV, 6, 7) are, as far as I know, a unique phenomenon for the entire area of distribution of the dedications to Hypsistos. Moreover, there are two inscriptions from Oinoanda (Pisidia) and Saritcham (Lydia) mentioning the offering of a lamp (λύχνον) and λυχναφία, and these Cook associates with the Hebrew diaspora and its influence over the gentile population.⁶⁴ Proceeding from the Saritcham inscription, L. Robert maintains his thesis about a Hebrew influence over the Hypsistos cult, a thesis which has not been accepted by Kraabel. The latter points to the absence of epigraphic evidence (including the last mentioned monument as well) on the link between the numerous diaspora of Sardis and the inscriptions to Hypsistos on the city's territory.⁶⁵ In view of the extremely rare use of light in Hebrew cult rites outside the place of worship, it is natural to look for the link between the altars with lamps in local Thracian religious usages. There is evidence on the use of illuminants in the Thracian cult ritual, and some of it dates back to Neolithic and Eneolithic times. The practice of carrying torches during the Dionysian and other Thracian mysteries is also known. At many of the Thracian sanctuaries from the Roman age to the Thracian Horseman, Zeus and Hera and other deities, large numbers of clay lamps and cernos have come to light and these M. Stancheva justifiably associates with the relic from Serdica (IV, 22). And if the vessel was really meant for everyday purposes and not for religious usage, and was linked with the religious phenomenon of interest to us here, then it is one more proof of the non-Hebrew affiliation of the Serdica devotees. There is also other evidence about the use of candles in Thracia and from it one could arrive at the inference that the use of illuminants in cult practices in the Thracian lands is linked with the Thracian and Graeco-Roman worship and is of very long standing.⁶⁶

7. Gods with the Epithet of Hypsistos in the Thracian Pantheon

The interpretation of the monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos, as well as those to Sabazios (see III, B, 6) had led to a number of inferences and formulations; they touch not only on the problems of the nature and phenomena in the complex system of religious life during the last centuries of the Roman Empire's existence, but also concern a series of phenomena in Thracian religion. The inferences stemming from the present interpretation are not, nor could they be free from a good deal of surmise which, as far as Hypsistos is concerned, is predetermined for the entire area of diffusion by the absence of evidence in ancient tradition.

The provenance of the monuments reveals that they are being discovered in those parts of ancient Thrace which were subjected to a more durable Hellenistic cultural and religious influence. The latter has left its imprint on the religious terminology as well, a terminology that brought closer together the high gods of the various ethnocultural communities under conditions of an expanding syncretism and a tendency toward monotheism. If one is to go by the earliest monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos in the Thracian lands, linked with the last Hellenistic rulers of Thracia, it is not at all difficult to see that the Hellenistic influence in this respect has not come from neighbouring Macedonia, but from Asia Minor through the dynastic connections between the Thracian kings and the Bosporean kingdom. According to my observations, the epithet of Hypsistos in these monuments must have been used for the Thracian Apollo, the high god and protector of the royal power of the Odrysian rulers and of their political heirs in south-eastern Thracia. This Thracian Apollo betrays signs of kinship with the Lydo-Phrygian god called Apollo, Sabazios, Zäirbenos and so on and related on his part to the Syrian Baalim,⁶⁷ and not to the Greek Apollo. The crushing of Thracian political autonomy through the annexation of the last Thracian kingdom by the Emperor Claudius, eliminated the circumstances favouring the development of the tradition in the use of the epithet of Hypsistos. The interrupted tradition was resumed, if one is to go by the monuments, at a comparatively late date and not without the participation and influence of the eastern, that is to say Anatolian settlers in Moesia Inferior and Thracia. The epithets and functions of the god (or gods) that has been honoured in these inscriptions, betray no trace of religious concepts alien to local traditions. What is more, they suggest closeness and even identity with some of the most popular gods in the Thracian pantheon—the mounted Thracian god, Apollo, Asclepius, as well as Zeus Sabazios. The inference is unavoidable that in the Thracian lands, as well as in the other areas of diffusion, the epithet of Hypsistos was attached to the local high gods of henotheistic nature. That is to say that the votive offerings to Zeus Hypsistos or to the God Hypsistos in the two provinces were made in all likelihood to a high god having the nature and functions of the Thracian Apollo or Zeus or Sabazios represented in the conventional image of the mounted Thracian god or of Zeus.

It is in this train of thought that lies the explanation for the absence of a priesthood and shrines associated with a specific god called Hypsistos. A votive inscription could be set up to any high god in the Thracian pantheon or beyond its sphere at any shrine or temple to a god of a similar nature and with similar functions.

The iconographic particularities of the monuments under consideration here bear the mark of the traditional symbolism of the monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos in Macedonia and Asia Minor. This symbolism underscores

his essence of a cosmic (to borrow Merlat's term) high god using means of expression which betray a pronounced Syrian influence. However, here one should emphasize the difficulty, if not impossibility of distinguishing between Syrian and Graeco-Roman religious symbolism, which had merged under the influence of syncretism and the prevalent trends in the political and religious ideology first of Macedonian and then of Roman rule.

The use of the epithet of Hypsistos, under Anatolian influence, to also cover the gods in the Thracian pantheon during the Imperial era has been likewise confirmed by the fact that among the dedicators there were persons whose names vouch for their unquestionable Thracian origin. This fact is, in my view, of great evidentiary value and I will try to substantiate it by one more comparison with the diffusion of the Syrian cult of Dolichenus among the Thracians (see V, B, 5). Investigations have shown that the worship of this Syrian Baal, which was widely popular among the legionaries stationed along the Rhine-Danube limes, remained alien even to the Thracian legionaries and veterans in contrast to their comrades-in-arms from other tribal areas of the western Roman provinces; in spite of the prolonged influence to which the Thracians were subjected during their military service, their indifference to Dolichenus is unquestionably attested in the epigraphic monuments. And if this prolonged influence on the Thracian soldiers should have remained without effect, then the influence of the eastern settlers on the non-military Thracian population in adopting a god who was so alien to the Thracian religious feelings should have also had the same end result. Even to a lesser degree should be assumed that one could see the Hebrew Yahweh lurking behind Hypsistos, since there is no testimony from the two provinces of a Jewish diaspora in the 2nd-3rd century.⁶⁸

The syncretic events in the Roman age which further developed the older Hellenistic monotheistic trends, are obviously to be likewise seen in the relics with a dedication to Hypsistos in our two provinces. It is the monuments from Serdica which reveal at their most obvious the results of the religious syncretism between the Balkan and the Anatolian religious traditions. The most high god is neither Zeus, nor Baal or Apollo, but an anonymous high god; he was represented in the spirit of oriental mythological symbolism, adopted by Greek civilization and described by the Greek epithet of ἐπῆκοος, most probably because of his soteriological functions; his only companion or symbol was the eagle, while the light inherent to the cult rites in Serdica could also be attributed to the influence of the Thraco-Phrygian ritual. It is obvious that the characteristics of the worship were denationalized under the assimilating influence of religion, philosophy and fashion, in which the Thracian, Balkan, Anatolian and Hebrew elements were only component parts of an entity, i.e. ancient religion during the Imperial age.

SECTION THREE

THE CULT OF ZEUS (JUPITER) DOLICHENUS

V. THE CULT OF ZEUS (JUPITER) DOLICHENUS

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments

MOESIA INFERIOR

(V, 1-22)

1. Novae.

Plate LXX

Fragment of a marble altar with an inscription and an unidentified representation in low relief. Measurements: height 0.25 m, width 0.29 m, depth 0.11 m.

At the museum in Svishtov.

J. Kolendo, J. Trynkowski in *Archeologia* (Wars.) XVI (1965), 115 ff., No 1, fig. 1, 2; B. Gerov, *Zur Lesung und Deutung einiger lateinischen Inschriften aus Bulgarien* in *Yearbook of Sofia University, Department of Philology*, LXIII, 2, 1969, 3; Tacheva-Hitova, *Proouchvaniya* (I), 59, No 1.

[... D]olic(eno). Pro sal[ute....
[... Anto]nin<n>i Pii felicis Au[g....
[Satur]ninus a q(u)estionari[is....
ex v(oto) p(osuit).

Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus was part of the names of the emperors Commodus, Caracalla and Elagabalus. According to the publishers, the relic should be referred to the reign of Caracalla or Elagabalus, that is to say, between 211 and 222. The dedicator was a special-task soldier attached to the military tribunes (see DA IV, 797). For his *cognomen*, the publishers suggest the names Antoninus or Saturninus. Saturninus is accepted with certainty by B. Gerov.

2. Emporium Piretensium (village of Boutovo, district of Veliko Turnovo).

Plate LXX

Limestone altar with an inscription. Measurements: height 0.78 m, width 0.39 m, depth 0.34 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1507.

Kalinka, No 126; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 10, fig. 3; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 67, No 17.

I.O.M.D(olicheno)
[A]urel(ius) An-
[t]iochia-
[n]us sa[c(erdos)]

5 [et] Flavius

The age of the Severi.

Lines 4-5: Kalinka—*sac. Flavius*, that is to say, city high priest of the House of the Flavians. Merlat is justified in not accepting that reading for, in such case, it should have been inscribed as *sac. Flavialis*. The high priest's name suggests Syrian descent and Romanization under the Severi.

3. Village of Dragoevo, Shoumen district.

Limestone altar, its upper border profiled. Measurements: height 1.23 m, width 0.55 m, depth 0.43 m.

At the museum in Preslav.

Merlat, *Rép.*, No 11, fig. 4; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 66, No 16.

I.O.M.D(olicheno)

pro salute

imperat[o]r-

is M. Anto-

5 ni G[ord]jani

Au[g]u[s]ti Ca-

stor et Licini(u)s

sacer(dotes) bis spor-

tulas dederunt

238-244 AD.

The name of Castor, one of the twin-deities, occurs frequently in the onomastics of the Dolichenian devotees: twice in the inscription (V, 26) from Cillae, in inscriptions from Pannonia Superior and Dacia (see Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 73, 80, 378; it is doubtful that the latter refers to the Dolichenian cult). Since the inscription is from the Imperial age, Merlat assumes that sportula here may also mean the distribution of sums of money.¹ Some inscriptions contain the information (Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 128, 146, 231, 263) that the temples had triclinia or cenatoria, that is to say that the worship of Dolichenus also included ritual banquets at which the meat of the sacrificial animal was partaken of. Kazarov assumes that the members of the Dolichenian religious communities arranged feasts for which purpose they were allotted money from the community cash-box. This inscription, however, makes it plain that the high priests distributed sportulas from their own funds.

4. Village of Izgrev, Varna district (on the territory of **Marcianopolis**).

Plates LXXI, LXXII

A fragmented marble sculptural composition of Jupiter Dolichenus. Overall height of preserved part 1.20 m, height of the sculpted image of Dolichenus (just above the knees) 0.65 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna.

G. Toncheva, *Skoulptourni pametnitsi ot selo Izgrev, Varnensko* in *MPK XVI*, 1976, 2, 28 ff., fig. 1.

The sculptural composition is treated in the conventional manner—a standing Dolichenus, his feet firmly planted on the back of a bull; an eagle is perched on the bull's head. From this group have been preserved the figure of the god, whose feet, right arm and left wrist are missing, and also the torso and head of the bull. Dolichenus is portrayed as an adult bearded man wearing a Phrygian cap and ceremonial Imperial garb. Over his two short-sleeved tunics he wears a lorica decorated in its lower part with the representation of an eagle, and also a paludament. The paludament is slung over his left arm and falls freely in folds down to the head of the bull. His belt supported by a strap across his left shoulder, had a sword hanging from it from which only traces are discernible. Undoubtedly, the god's left hand held the thunder-bolt, while his right one brandished the double axe—these were attributes which the god was assigned in a whole series of monuments of this type.

The bull is represented as was customary—much smaller in size than the figure of Dolichenus, which is larger and emphasizes the god's might. The right foreleg, as the part which has been preserved shows, was slightly raised, in all probability, to rest on the head of a ram as in this monument's closest parallels, i.e. the sculptural composition of Acumincum (Pannonia Inferior)² and that of Tomi (V, 14). If one is to go by those monuments, it could be assumed with a great deal of certainty that under the animal's belly there was a representation of an altar which bore the dedication.

A distinguishing feature of the iconography of the sculptural composition from Izgrev is the pair of eagles represented once on the bull's head and another time, on the lorica in low relief. The same is true of the Acumincum relic.

The monument was the work of a competent hand. Alongside the fragments discovered at Tomi (V, 14) and Cerna (V, 8), it testifies to the existence of at least one first-rate sculptor's studio in this part of Moesia Inferior. The reason for assuming that this was a local product is the close resemblance between the indicated monuments.

The back of the sculptural composition is rendered in lower relief. The mannerism in the treatment of the garments and especially in the rendering of the god's facial features shows that the sculptural composition belongs at the earliest to the period following the reign of Antoninus Pius. The relic came to light within the precincts of a Roman edifice in an ancient settlement which was a road station on the Marcianopolis-Noviodunum highway; here were also found a statue of three-faced Hecate and coins from the reign of Gordian III. The latter are the only grounds on which G. Toncheva dates the relic to the middle of the 3rd century.

If the edifice was destroyed during the barbarian incursions in the reign of the said emperor,³ then the sculptural composition could be referred with a high degree of probability to the age of the Severi.

5. Durostorum.

Altar.

Pârvan in *Riv. di Filol.* LII (1924), 323; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 380; Bujor in *SCIV* 11, 1960, 1, 146 ff., No 3, fig. 3; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 59, No 2.

[I.O.M.D(olicheno) (?) p]ro salu[te i]m-
pp(eratorum) L. Sept(imi) S[ev(eri)]
et M. Aur(eli) [Ant(onini)]
Augg(ustorum) [et Getae]
5 [Nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris)], Aeli[us]
Seucus(?) et [Poly]deuces (?) Ma[sc]-
lini et Gaius [La]-
is(?), Lucius D[eci]-
mus(?) sacerd[otes p(osuerunt) (?)]

Between 198 and 208 (the co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla). After the damnation, the name of Geta was chiselled out.

Lines 6-7: Merlat—*Thucus et [Poly]deuces Ma[scu]lini*; line 8: *Lucius D[idy]mus*. Parvan adds at the end: *sacerdotes templum a solo fecerunt* or *sacerdotes votum posuerunt* (?). The supplementing is uncertain. Merlat refers to this inscription as doubtful, and is of the opinion that there is not enough evidence to number with certainty the monument among those of the Dolichenian worship, though it coincides in time with the greatest flourishing of this cult and in spite of the oriental names of the high priests. Particularly characteristic is the name of Polydeuces, i.e. the name of one of the Castores, which frequently crops up among the devotees of Dolichenus (see V, 2, 9 and CIL III 7456 from Pannonia).

The observations on the inscriptions to Dolichenus from the two provinces, as well as those on the names of the god's high priests made below (see V, B, 6) give me ground to assign this inscription to the certain testimonies of the cult. Its archaeological characteristics listed in the first publication by Teodorescu that Parvan refers to, were unavailable to me.

6. Village of Bezmer, Tolbukhin district.

Plate LXXIII

Marble statuette of Jupiter Dolichenus, part of a sculptural composition, height 0.30 m.

At the District Museum of History in Tolbukhin, No I, 981.

I. P. Vasilçin in *Meander*, 1978, 2, 111-116, fig. 1 (a, b).

The representation is undoubtedly that of Dolichenus. It is rendered in the conventional manner similarly to the monument (V, 4) from Izgrev. Dolichenus is portrayed as an adult bearded man wearing a Phrygian cap. The legs, which have been preserved to just below the knees, show that he had been depicted standing on the back of a bull. He is dressed in ceremonial Imperial garb—in a tunic, *lorica* and *paludamentum* and with a long sword which hung from a strap. The two hands in which Dolichenus customarily held the thunder-bolt and the double axe, are missing.

The statuette was accidentally discovered in the vicinity of Bezmer where no other archaeological traces from antiquity have been found. Vasilcin is justified in linking this find with the nearest ancient settlement of Durostorum, in which there is evidence of the worship of Dolichenus (see V, 5) in the age of the Severi. He assigns the statuette to the first half of the 3rd century, but it is very possible that it could belong to the period of the Severi.

7. Tropaeum Traiani.

Fragment of a limestone altar with an inscription. Measurements: height 0.80 m, width 0.67 m, depth 0.54 m.

CIL III, 14437¹; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 12; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 60, No 3.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno)

.....

8. Cerna (near Troesmis).

Torso of a bull, fragment from a sculptural composition. Measurements: height 0.70 m, length 0.60 m, depth 0.15 m. Inscription on the altar beneath the bull's belly.

Dragomir in *SCIV* 15, 1964, 535 ff., fig. i; Vulpe, *Din istoria Dobrogei II*, 1968, 209 ff.; M. Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 60, No 4.

I.O.M.D(olicheno)

Pro salute imp(eratoris) M. Aur(elii)

[Severi Alexandri Pii fel(icis)] Aug(usti)

Aur(elius) Marinus Romanus sac(erdos)

5 ex voto posuit.

Between 218-235 AD.

Between 222 and 235, according to Dragomir who supplements the name deleted because of damnation by that of Alexander Severus. Vulpe is justified in pointing out that the damnation may refer to Elagabalus as well, who had the same name; therefore, the relic could also be dated to between 218 and 222.

The name of Marinus (in the meaning of 'our lord', see *RE*, V, 1905, 1281) occurs frequently in the onomastics of the Dolichenian worship (see Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 28, 29, 107, 109, 128, 136, 144?, 162, 223, 225, 227, 284, 318, 342, 349, 378). The fragment obviously belonged to the widely popular sculptural composition of Jupiter Dolichenus which is in the same class as the monuments from Izgrev (V, 4), Bezmer (V, 6) and Tomi (V, 14).

9. Niculițel (on the territory of an unidentified vicus to the south of Noviodunum).

Three fragments of a column tinted red and with an inscription.
At the National Museum of History in Bucharest.

Merlat, *Rép.*, No 13; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 61, No 5.

I.O.M.

Dolchen(o) (*sic!*)

pro salute

imp(eratoris) M. Aureli

5 Antonini Pii

Aug(usti) et Iuliae Do-

minae matri

castrorum

Polydeuces

10 Theophili et

Lucius Capito

et F[l]avius Re-

[gi]nus sacer-

dotes Iovis

15 Dolcheni vo-

tum posuerunt l(ibentes) m(erito).

Between 211 and 217 (the reign of Caracalla). For the name of Polydeuces see under V, 5. Going by the inscription of the veteran T. Flavius Capito of Tomi,⁴ Merlat thinks that L. Capito was a native of the Danube limes. This parallel alone does not give enough grounds for determining the origin of the high priest because his *cognomen* was widely used in the Empire. It is only from Moesia Inferior that we know of a person called Iulius Capito, a tax collector under the Antonines, and of his brothers (CIL III 751 = 7434; 6154, p. 1338); later we find one of them in the province of Belgium. B. Gerov is justified in assuming that the family was of Eastern origin.⁵ Merlat identifies Fl. Reginus with Fl. Re[ginus] from the inscription discovered near Macin⁶ and dedicated to Julia Domna. He assumes an Eastern origin for Polydeuces on the ground of his father's name.

10. Mejdankyoi (to the south of Niculițel, on the territory of Noviodunum).

Marble slab with *tabula ansata*.

At the National Museum of History in Bucharest.

Merlat, *Rép.*, No 14, fig. 5; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 62, No 6.

I.O.M.

Dolycheno pro

salutem imp(eratoris) d(omini) n(ostris) Pi(i)

F(elicis) Aug(usti) S(e)veri Alexandrus

5 Luginus Dometi (i, us?) et Aquila

Barsemon et Flavius

Damas(cenus) sac(erdotes) templum

a solo f(e)cerunt

Between 218 and 222.

This relic presents many difficulties of an epigraphic nature and these are mainly connected with the restoration of the emperor's name, which according to Merlat is Elagabalus and had been deleted because of damnation (line 3). In inscribing the name of Alexander Severus, fresh mistakes have slipped in and these have been analysed by Merlat. To us of special interest is the high priest's name—Aquila Barsemon. Aquila undoubtedly points here to a link with the eagle which played a particular role in the Dolichenian cult. This name is also known from the inscription of Cillae (V, 26, 'Ακύλας), and as a cognomen, from Sarmizegetusa and the Aventine in Rome (Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 32, 183, 219-220), while Barsemon is of Semitic origin,⁷ and this has been accepted by Merlat as well. The meaning of this name is 'son of an eagle'. It occurs in other dedications to Dolichenus either in the same form or in the variants of Barsemes in Dacia, Bars.... in Sarmizegetusa, Barsemias in Italy (see Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 29, 349, 256). The name of Damas(cenus), irrespective of whether its shorter or longer form is to be accepted, points to a probable Eastern origin. In my opinion, the inscription has come from the unidentified vicus near Niculițel (see V, 9).

11. Dionysopolis.

Limestone altar with *acroteria*. Measurements: 1.16 × 0.43 × 0.32 m.

At the museum in Balchik.

Mihailov, *IGB* I², 24 bis; J. and L. Robert in *Bull.ép.* 1971, No 436; 1972, No 308; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 65, No 14.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Διὶ Δολιχαίῳ

Μ(ἄρκος) Πομπ[εῖ]ος Λού-

χιος βενε[φ]ικιά-
 5 ριος ὑπατικοῦ
 λεγ(ιῶνος) α' Ἰταλικῆς
 Ἀντωνεινιανῆς,
 βουλευτῆς Διονυ-
 σοπολειτῶν, Καλ-
 10 λατιανῶν, Μαρ-
 κιανοπολειτῶν
 εὐχαριστήριον.
 Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυ-
 ρίου αὐτοκρά-
 15 τορος.

Between 214 and 217.

As the publisher has pointed out, the last three lines were inscribed later, while the inscription itself is dated by the description of the legion with the attributive Antoniniana, and that was a common occurrence in the reign of Caracalla and Elagabalus (see *RE* XII, 1325). The god's name is not rendered in the customary form of the ethnicon, but by a noun adjective which, as far as I know, is the first such case among the monuments to Dolichenus.⁸ The dedicator was *beneficiarius consularis* of the *legio I Italica*, i.e. a person who was entrusted with controlling functions at the Roman road stations.⁹ He was also a city councillor (βουλευτής) at Dionysopolis, Callatis and Marcianopolis, elected because of his services in the war against the Carps in 214.

12. Bizone (Kavarna).

Plate LXXIV

A bronze right hand decorated with representations and an inscription. Measurements: length 0.21 m, diameter at the wrist 0.075 m.

At the Archaeological Museum in Varna.

Tonczeva in *Archeologia* (Wars.) IV, 1950-1951, 51-56, fig. 1-4; Tacheva-Hitova in *Arheologiya* 16, 1974, 2, 23 ff., fig. 1, 2; idem, *Prouchvaniya* I, 65, No 13.

The bronze right hand, which is hollow, has a raised ring at the base of the wrist, but it is not so even that the hand could be stood upright. The little hole above the ring suggests that the hand was probably set on a wooden stand. The thumb and forefinger are holding a small ball (the heavenly globe) with an inscription: Iul(ius) sac(erdos) Dol(icheni). Toncheva's reading: Iul(ius) sac(rum) (votum) Dol(icheno) is, in my opinion, inaccurate. Depicted in motion, Victory has set foot on the globe. The palm carries the representation in relief of one of the twin-deities (according to Toncheva, it is Dolichenus).¹⁰ Beneath that, the master craftsman has incised the eagle of Dolichenus, its wings slightly outspread and a wreath encircling its head (this representation

has escaped Toncheva's attention). On the back of the wrist is engraved a peacock with pomegranates—the attributes of Dolichenus' consort Juno (Toncheva describes the peacock as an eagle). The hand from Bizone has a number of features which make it unique among the extant monuments to Dolichenus of this type. It brings together both the customary and the less frequently occurring companions of the god—the eagle, Dolichenian Juno, the twin deities, Victory. In contrast to the hands in Vienna and Comana Cappadociae (see V, B, 3), here Dolichenian Jupiter and Juno are not rendered anthropomorphically, but by association, through their associated animals and attributes—the eagle and the wreath, the peacock and the pomegranate; the latter has its only representation on the hand from Bizone if one is to go by the monuments included in Merlat's corpus.

This difference comes to show that the hand from Bizone does not include in its iconography the old Syrian traditions which are particularly plainly to be seen in the hand from Comana Cappadociae; what is more, the absence of the second twin-deity, to whose almost unfailing presence I. Tóth draws attention in his above quoted article, is a deviation from the Dolichenian iconography which was characteristic of the centres of the cult's diffusion along the Rhine-Danube limes. The differences that have been pointed to, give ground to assume that the hand was made at a local workshop.

Victory's image suggests clearly that the hand was associated with the Dolichenian devotees of the military profession. The comparatively large size of the hand makes me assume that it was not meant to top a high priest's sceptre, but was more likely a cult symbol of the god and was used in the cult rites of worshipping soldiers. In support of this may be cited the single name of the high priest in the inscription and this suggests that the hand should be dated prior to the edict of Caracalla. The place where the relic was found and where the widest spread of the cult in Moesia Inferior has been attested, gives ground to date the hand to the age of the Severi, most probably before 212.

13. Muratu (between Tomi and Callatis).

Lower part of a marble slab with an inscription and a relief. Measurements: $0.47 \times 0.51 \times 0.25$ m.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 316.

Cagnat, *IGRR* I, No 601; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 16; Bordenache, *Sculture*, 81, No 160, Pl. LXVIII; J. et L. Robert in *Bull.ép.*, 1954, No 55; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 64, No 12.

Ῥοῦφον Πρίσκου ἱερατεύσαντα θεῶ Δο-
λοχηνῶ ἔτη π. Ἰουλιανός Ἀλεξάνδρ-
ου τὸν<ον> συνιερέα ἐν ἰδίῳ τόπῳ
μνήμης χάριν.

Very likely from the early decades of the Severan age.

Line 2: Cagnat: ἔτη π(έντε). Merlat is of the opinion that the reading suggested by Seyrig: ἔτ(η) ἡ´ Π(ούβλιος) is the most acceptable. Both versions lead to the inference that the high priests were elected to their office for more than a year.

An insignificant part of the relief has been preserved—no more than a part of the likenesses of two male feet and an altar. It is assumed that this was a representation of the high priest Rufus sacrificing to his god.

14. Tomi.

Marble torso of a bull with an inscription. Measurements: height 0.21 m, length 0.24 m, depth 0.14 m.

At the museum in Constanța.

Radulescu in *SCIV* 14, 1963, 1, 90, fig. 9; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 64, No 11.

The torso was probably part of a sculptural composition of Jupiter Dolichenus similar to that from Izgrev (see under V, 4). Beneath the bull's belly, part of a parallelepiped (an altar?) has been preserved and on it the beginning of a dedication has been inscribed:

Διὶ Μ(εγίστῳ) Δ(ολιχηνῶ)----

15. Histria.

Marble statuette of Jupiter Dolichenus, 0.125 m high.

At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1679.

Bordenache in *Dacia* V, 1961, 209, fig. 24; *id.*, *Sculture*, No 159, Pl. LXVIII; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 63, No 9.

Jupiter Dolichenus is wearing a *lorica* and a *paludamentum*—of which only the upper part above the cuirass has been preserved. On his right side, a sword hanging from a belt. It is obvious that he has been depicted standing, his feet planted on the back of a bull. Bordenache assumes that the figure was part of a sculptural composition typical of the Dolichenian cult and associates it according to type with that from Marash in Syria (Merlat, *Rép.*, *o.c.*, No 4, Pl. I, 1). In view of the dating of the other monuments (V, 21) from Histria, Bordenache refers this relic to the age of the Severi.

16. Vicus Quintionis (on the territory of Histria).

Much damaged stone altar. Measurements: height 1.05 m, width 0.45 m, depth 0.42 m.

At the museum of Histria.

Tudor in *Studii și cercetări științifice A.R.P.R., fil. Iași* 2, 1951, 1-2, 499 ff., No 1, fig. 1; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 63, No 10.

- [I.O.M.D(olicheno)]
 [et Iunoni Re]gin(a)e
 [pro] salutem imp(eratoris)
 [Caesa(aris) M. Aur(eli) A]n[t]oni-
 5 [ni Aug(usti)] Aur(elius) Iul. De-
 [....]us, P[....] [G]aius Hi-
 [....] o[...A]elius Ma-
 [....] e [....Aman?]dus sace[r]-
 [dote]s I.O.M.D(olicheni) vico Q(uintionis)
 10 [et Mar]ciana, D(omino) N(ostro) ex vo-
 [t]um posuerunt.

According to Tudor, between 218 and 222, but the thus restored Imperial name may be that of Caracalla as well, i.e. the monument may be referred to 212-222. The altar is so much damaged that it is difficult to say anything definite about the names of the high priests, about their origin and even their number—whether they were three or four. All the same, it is possible to tell from it that there was a shrine to Dolichenus in that settlement. It should be noted here that this is the only relic from the two provinces which, alongside Dolichenus, mentions also his consort Juno. She is rarely to be met with—either alone or together with Dolichenus.¹¹

* * *

17. Provenance unknown.

Plate LXXV

Triangular bronze tablet, now lost. Published by Kazarov after a negative at the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Kazarov in *Germania* 22, 1938, 12-13, Pl. IV; Petrikovits in *Germania* 22, 1938, 121-122; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 346, Pl. XXXVI, 3; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 70, No 22.

The tablet has an inscription of incised dots. The reading of Petrikovits is not accepted by Merlat who offers the following, but is not sure of the reading of the second line:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno (a)eter(no)....
 v(otum) l(ibenti) a(nimo) p(osuit).

In the opinion of the same author, the epigraphic particularities of the inscription make it a comparatively late one.

The bronze tablet carries the incised representations of Dolichenian Jupiter and Juno in the centre. The top is missing but it was most probably decorated with the likeness of Victory, as are the rest of this type of tablets. The upper part of the tablet shows the incised busts of Sol and Luna, which express the concept of the high god's immortality. Above them Merlat indicates the representation of an eagle which Kazarov has missed and which forms in

conjunction with the heavenly bodies, the cosmic triad. Dolichenus is depicted with his customary attributes and wearing a Phrygian cap, his feet planted on the back of a bull. A flying Victory, with a dagger in her right hand, is crowning him. To the right is Juno riding on a stag; in her right hand she is holding a mirror, and in her left, an indistinct object. Between the heads of the two animals is a flame (according to Merlat, issuing from an altar that is not in evidence), and above it are depicted a snake and a star. On either side at the bottom are depicted the twin-deities in a conventional scheme. Between them is an *aedicula* with a high pediment within which is inscribed a bust. According to Kazarov the bust is female, but Merlat identifies it with Jupiter Dolichenus. The latter assumes the symbolic meaning for the snake offered by Cumont: the snake which is trying to devour the star symbolized an eclipse according to Syrian beliefs.

A similar bronze tablet was discovered near Romulianum (today's village of Yassen) in Moesia Superior.¹² Some scholars advance the conjecture that the tablet under consideration here originated in Moesia Inferior,¹³ but that is difficult to prove in view of the attested monuments in the province.

18. Provenance unknown.

Fragment of a sculptural composition of Jupiter Dolichenus, unpublished.
At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Only a part of the bull's torso and head and also of the figure of Dolichenus in his characteristic garb and holding a thunder-bolt in his left hand have been preserved. The sculptural composition is referred to the conventional type (see under V, 4) and was probably discovered in Moesia Inferior.

19. Provenance unknown.

Plate LXXVI

Fragmented bronze statuette of Jupiter Dolichenus.
At the National Museum of History in Bucharest.

V. Pârvan, *Inceputurile vieții romane la gurile Dunării, o.c.*, București 1923, 79, fig. 49;
M. Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 62, No 7.

The god is depicted standing, dressed in a short-sleeved tunic and a *lorica*, with a Phrygian cap on his head. In his left hand he is holding the thunder-bolt, and in his right, in all likelihood, a double axe.

20. Novae.

Altar with the representation of a *patera* on the top surface. Measurements:
0.82 × 0.64 × 0.41 m.

At the museum in Svishtov.

Detschew in *GPLBM* 1940-1941, 34 ff., No 1, fig. 1; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 9; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 70, No 24.

I.O.M.D(olicheno)
 Numisius Ru-
 finus opt(io) leg(ionis)
 I. Ital(icae)

5 votum sol-
 vit l(ibens) m(erito)

2nd century.

The dedicator was an officer of the lower ranks in the legion and his name was Italic of Etruscan origin; this is something that occurs in other relics from Moesia Inferior and Pannonia. The abbreviation here of Dolichenus' name is to be seen on a whole series of monuments and its reading arouses no doubt when the relic has come from a centre of diffusion of the Dolichenian cult (see Merlat, *Rép.*, Index II, p. 397). Until a while ago the reading of Dolichenus' name was regarded as certain. A recently discovered altar during excavations at Novae¹⁴ and dedicated to Jupiter Depulsor is reason enough not to number the monument among the certain testimonies of the Dolichenian cult in Moesia Inferior.

21. Histria.

Limestone slab with a pediment. Measurements: height 1.58 m, width 0.735 m, thickness 0.30 m.

At the museum of Histria (?).

The border at the lower part of the slab is decorated with a vessel from which issue two vine twigs each with a cluster of grapes. The pediment carries the representation of a wreath with a ribbon and a rosette inscribed in its centre. On either side of the pediment is a semi-palmette without a ribbon.

Parvan in *Dacia* II, 1925, 225, fig. 43, 44; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 379; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 63, No 8.

D(is) M(anibus).

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται Ἀπολ-

λινάρις Δολιχην[άρ]ις

ζήσας ἔτη λεί. Τὴν

5 στήλην ἀνέθηκε(ν)

Αὐρ. Μάρκος ὁ ἀδελ-

φὸς μνείας χάριν.

Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.

The age of the Severi.

Parvan explains the dedication to D.M. in this Greek inscription by its having been cut in advance at the workshop of a stonecutter whose patrons were Greek rather than Roman and by the conjectural unwillingness of the

Greek-speaking buyer to have it changed. Merlat advances as an argument in favour of the relationship of the deceased (or of his family) to the Dolichenian cult not only his second name, which is derived from the god's ethnicon, but his first name as well, i.e. Ἀπολλινάρις. It was proper to a number of Dolichenian devotees in inscriptions from Naronā, Acumincum, the Aventine in Rome and Britannia (Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 55, 62, 63, 64, 190, 273). All of them were high priests with the exception of the individual from the British inscription and the name of Ἀπολλινάρις was their *cognomen*.

For no apparent reason, Merlat indicates Durostorum as the place of origin for the inscription of Histria.

22. Village of Nikolaevka (on the territory of Odessos). Plate LXXVI

Fragment of a votive tablet. Measurements: 0.19 × 0.09 × 0.041 m.

At the archaeological museum in Varna, No II 261.

Toncheva in *IVAD* 11, 1960, 74, Pl. XI, fig. 59. M. Tacheva-Hitova, o.c., 71, No 25.

A torso dressed in a short-sleeved chiton with a *lorica* over it is visible on the tablet. A *paludamentum* is cast over the right shoulder. The legs are protected by greaves which also cover the knees. According to the publisher, the tablet was dedicated to either Jupiter Dolichenus or Ares.

The position of the right leg, pushed to one side, and the relaxed pose of the figure, which looks as if it is leaning with the right hand on some object, are not typical of the Dolichenian iconography and recall Mars Ultor rather than Dolichenus.

II. THRACIA

(V, 23-28)

23. Augusta Traiana (village of Stamovo, formerly Tsar Asparouh).

Plate LXXVII

Rectangular marble slab.

At the District Museum of History in Stara Zagora, No 628.

Merlat, *Rép.*, No 8; Mihailov, *IGB* III, 2, No 1590 = 1678; Tacheva-Hitova, *Prouchvaniya* I, 68, No 19.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Θεῷ Δολιχηνῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

ἀνικῆτου καὶ ἐωνίου διαμονῆς καὶ νήκης (sic)

αὐτοκράτορι καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σεουήρῳ

5 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ

καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ Μαμαίᾳ σεβαστῆς καὶ ἱερᾷ συνκλήτου

καὶ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ

βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Αὐγούστης Τραιανῆς
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σαβεῖνος Θειοφίλου Σύρος ἱερεὺς καὶ
 10 ὑνέμπορος <τῆς Δακίας> καὶ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πρῖμος
 Ἀστέω τῶ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ β(ου)λ(ευτῆς) τῆς Δακίας
 Σεπτιμίᾳ Πορολίσσου θιῶ (sic) <ἀναλαβόν τὸν ναόν>
 ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ναόν κατὰ τὸν νόμον
 καὶ δι(σ)κιπλῖναν τὴν ΙΕΡΟΙ (sic). Εὐτυχῶς.

Between 222 and 235.

There are quite a few grammatical errors in the inscription (see Mihailov), which in all probability were due to poor knowledge on the part of the text's writer.

Line 11: Kazarov and Merlat read Σεπτιμίᾳ Τορολῖς Σουθίῳ, that is to say a woman's name that could be of conjectural Thracian origin. Merlat thinks that the restored temple was built round 180, i.e. nearly 50 years previously and that is the required time for the ageing of the temple, but he does not advance any other argument of a historical nature. If one is to go by the dating of the rest of the temples and shrines in the two provinces, it would seem more reasonable for the temple to be referred to the early years of Septimius Severus' reign. As is to be seen from the inscription, one of the high priests was a merchant of Syrian descent. For the second priest, Merlat accepts Rostovtsev's opinion that he was a leading member of a professional guild organized along oriental lines. Mihailov revises the reading of the text and also indicates that the second high priest was likewise a merchant, as well as councillor of the *municipium* of Porolis in Dacia. It is to be seen from this inscription that, in addition to their religious duties, the high priests of Dolichenus had also lay occupations.¹⁵ Oriental merchants in Dacia and Rome¹⁶ are known to have been associated with the cult of Dolichenus.

24. Starozagorski Mineralni Bani (on the territory of **Augusta Traiana**).

Plate LXXVIII.

Limestone altar, profiled at the top and bottom. Measurements: height 0.86 m, width at the bottom 0.58 m.

At the District Museum of History in Stara Zagora No 2C₃ 1239.

D. Nikolov, H. Bouyukliev in *Arheologiya* 13, 1971, 1, 46-47; Idem, *New Inscriptions Dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus in Stara Zagora, Bulgaria* in *Acta Arch. Hung.* 24, 1972, 415 ff., fig. 1; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 68, No 20.

[Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ?]

Ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ

κυρίου αὐτο-

κράτορος τυ-

5 χῆς καὶ νείκης
 Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντωνείνου
 Διὶ Δολιχηνῶ
 Φλάουιος καὶ Ἡλιό-
 δωρος εὐξάμενοι.

Between 212 and 217, and most probably 214 (see Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1560).

According to the publishers, the inscription could also be dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, if one is to go by the name in the inscription, which was found alongside another, this time a building one, from the co-rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. This dating is quite possible if, however, we accept that the dedication was set up at the time of the bath's construction; since this has not been ascertained, the second dating could be taken as a *terminus post quem* for the dating which, in my opinion, it would be more correct to be referred to the age of the Severi. The supplementing of the formula Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ in the first line of the dedication is not all that certain, as this formula appears on the monuments to Dolichenus for the whole of the Empire only in the inscriptions from Dionysopolis (V, 11) and Augusta Traiana (V, 23). The single names of the dedicators after Caracalla's edict on Roman citizenship may suggest a probable slave origin. The name of Flavius was taken on often by inhabitants of Augusta Traiana or its territory who were of Thracian descent,¹⁷ but as far as I know the name of Heliodorus occurs for the first time here.

25. Augusta Traiana (west of the city, the locality of Trite Chouchoura).

Plate LXXVIII

Upper part of a small, re-used limestone column with an inscription.
 Measurements: height 0.69 m, diameter 0.26-0.24 m.

At the District Museum of History in Stara Zagora, No 2C3 1238.

D. Nikolov, H. Bouyukliev in *Arheologiya* 13, 1971, 1, 46-47; *Acta Arch. Hung.* 24, 1972, 416 ff., fig. 2; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 62, No 21.

Διὶ Δολιχην-
 νῶ.
 Κλαύδιος Φρόν-
 των βουλευ-
 5 τῆς πόλεως
 Ἀκυννησίου
 καὶ πραγμα-
 τευτῆς ὑπέρ
 σωτηρίας αὐ-
 10 τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδί-
 ων εὐξάμενος
 ἀνέστησα.

The inscription provides no data for an exact dating. Since the publishers indicate that, alongside V, 23, it situates the temple to Dolichenus within the city, it is most probable that it was dedicated at the time of the temple's attested existence, i.e. the age of the Severi.

The dedicator was a decurion at Aquincum and a pragmateutes. The authors do not accept the meaning of 'an overseer of an estate' which B. Gerov¹⁸ suggests for the term of *πραγματευτής* = *actor*, but assume that in his capacity of pragmateutes, the dedicator was a clerk in the city administration of Aquincum. Insufficiently convincing is the assertion that there were at least two shrines in or around the city: the one in the city proper or near it (according to inscriptions V, 23 and 25) and the other, near the ancient baths of the Stara Zagora spa (according to V, 24); because the inscription was found in situ, this does not provide enough grounds to assume the existence of a shrine.

26. Cillae (Cherna Gora, formerly Karaorman, Chirpan county) Plate LXXIV

Fragment of a limestone pedestal of a statue. On the top surface one sees a tree trunk, in front of which a snake is coiling and rearing its head. Measurements: 0.45 × 0.10 × 0.14 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Merlat, *Rép.*, No 15; Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1, 1527; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 67, No 18.

Διὶ μεγίστῳ Δολιχηνῶ
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης τῶς κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων
 Κάστωρ καὶ Ἀκύλας καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης κατὰ
 χέλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀνέθηκαν.

Between 202 and 211 (the co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla).

The names of the high priests are associated with the twin-deities (see under V, 3 and 5).

Merlat believes it possible for the snake to have been linked with the prophylactic nature of the dedication—as an attribute of Dolichenus in his capacity of saviour. I. Tóth discusses some ten monuments of the Dolichenian cult originating from the entire area of its diffusion and carrying representations of snakes. His investigation shows that they came from the main centres of the spread of the cult and that they usually had a couple of snakes depicted on them. Among the three monuments which carry the likeness of just one snake is that of Cillae. For this group of relics, Tóth assumes that the second snake was on the missing part. His basic inference is that in fact the two snakes symbolized the Dolichenian twin-deities and their presence underscored the universal nature of the Dolichenian deity.¹⁹ This formulation of Tóth's is logically attested and quite acceptable.

The formula κατὰ χέλευσιν, i.e. *ex praecepto*, occurs in its Greek version also in several other inscriptions from Syria, Rome and Italy (Merlat, *Rép.*, Nos 3, 242, 253). It is one of the points d'appui of the assumption that the cult practices of the Dolichenian worship included prophesying and the divination of dreams.²⁰ It is conjectured that the statue represented a high priest in the act of sacrificing. The inscription has been incorrectly indicated by Merlat to have originated from Moesia Inferior.

* * *

27. Gorni Voden, Plovdiv district.

Bronze hand, 0.11 m long.

I. Velkov in *GNM* 1922-25, 152, No 1, fig. 216; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 71, No 26.

The publisher indicates that the hand may be linked to the cult of Sabazios. In actual fact, the relic may be said to pertain to the worship of Dolichenus just like other votive hands without an inscription or a characteristic representation²¹ that have been discovered together with attested relics proper to the Dolichenian cult. Here the archaeological background (bronze decorations for a chariot) against which the relic was discovered, makes the assumption groundless and highly unlikely.

28. Smolyan.

Plate LXXX

Bronze tablet. Measurements: 0.17 × 0.11 × 0.004 m.

At the Sofia Archaeological Museum.

I. Venedikov in *IAI* XVIII, 1952, 358-64; Tacheva-Hitova, *o.c.*, 71, No 27.

The bronze tablet has representations on both sides. According to Venedikov, alongside the principal likenesses of Dionysos here are depicted the goddess Ma, a winged deity of an assumed eastern origin, and a horseman riding to the right. The horseman's likeness is indistinct and it is not clear if he is wearing a Phrygian cap or a felt hat (*pilos*). Nothing definite could likewise be said about the horseman's attire. He is brandishing a double axe in his raised right hand, while his left hand is invisible behind the horse's head. Beneath the horse is the likeness of a bull. Though both the horseman's and the horse's legs are quite indistinct, Venedikov maintains that the horse's feet are resting on the bull, i.e. that there is a connection between the images of the horseman and the bull and that this composition portrays Jupiter Dolichenus. According to him, the tablet was made in the 3rd century by a local master craftsman on the commission of a Syrian merchant, a devotee of Dolichenus. As far as I know, no similar iconography of Dolichenus as a horseman and one so far removed from the conventional type has been attested in the monuments to the Syrian deity either in the Western or the Eastern provinces

of the empire. What is more, if the tablet had been commissioned by a Syrian, he would have required from the local master craftsman to observe the iconography he knew. If, on the other hand, we are to accept Venedikov's opinion that the iconography of the scenes portraying Dionysos was not very popular in Thrace, then the conjecture that the tablet was made by a local master on the commission of a Thracian, is eliminated.

The considerations listed above put in doubt the bronze tablet from Smolyan as one of the attested relics of the Dolichenian cult.

B. Interpretation

1. Historiography

In contrast to other ancient cults and religions, the belief in the Syrian Baal of Doliche has left no trace in ancient sources. In spite of that, he was most notable both as a religious phenomenon and in respect to the spread of his worship in the Roman empire. The knowledge about him is primarily due to Merlat's precise corpus of his monuments (1951).²² The interpretation of the monuments²³ published somewhat later, revealed a number of important aspects of the Dolichenian cult and its religious doctrine by following up its manifestations back to remote antiquity. In its general lines, this interpretation is still valid notwithstanding the discovery of numerous relics over the entire area of the cult's diffusion,²⁴ and that is undoubtedly due to the strict observance of the scientific approach in applying the method of research selected by the author and set forth in his introduction of 1948.

P. Merlat's two monographs include all the monuments from Moesia Inferior and Thracia that had come to light up to the early fifties. Most of them have also been included in the studies of Kan, Demircioglu and others. These studies will not be discussed here owing to the unquestionable value of the supervenient study by P. Merlat. There are already in contemporary Bulgarian historiography investigations of the relics and history of the Dolichenian cult,²⁵ and these have been reproduced here with minor corrections and the inclusion of the newly discovered monument in Tolbukhin district (V, 6); thus the catalogue lists 21 certain epigraphic and archaeological relics. Though they do not include all the types of the cult's relics known to us from the rest of the Roman provinces, their number and characteristics have provided ground for a number of observations and inferences both on the cult's history in the two provinces, as well as on its general characteristics at the time of its greatest flourishing in the reign of the Severi.

2. *Epigraphic Monuments. Names and Epithets of the God*

The overwhelming part of the available evidence on the Dolichenian cult in Moesia Inferior and Thracia is epigraphic—15 relics from Moesia Inferior and four from Thracia. The texts are inscribed on marble or limestone altars, slabs and columns and on the two fragments of sculptural compositions from Cerna (V, 8) and Tomi (V, 14), as well as on the bronze hand from Bizone (V, 12). The Latin inscriptions come without exception from Moesia Inferior (V, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7-10, 12, 16, 17, 20) and those in Greek, from the two provinces (Moesia Inferior: V, 11, 13, 14 from the Pontic littoral; Thracia: V, 23-26 from the territory of Augusta Traiana). I should like to add here that the epigraphic relics with a Greek text in Merlat's corpus have originated exclusively in our two provinces, with the exception of the inscription from Rome (No 242 in Merlat) with a not too certain authenticity.

In some of the inscriptions the dedication begins with the formula: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (V, 11, 23, 24?). The inscriptions were predominantly dedicated to the good health of the reigning emperors (V, 1, 3, 5, 8-10, 16), to their victories (V, 23, 24, 26) or safety (V, 11, 26). There is just one monument set up for the safety of the dedicator and his near and dear ones (V, 25). In a number of inscriptions it is indicated that they had been erected because of a vow (V, 1, 8, 9, 16, 24, 25), and one was set up on the god's behest: κατὰ κέλευσιν (V, 26). There are also two tombstones (V, 13?, 21).

The god's name appears in different versions in the texts of both languages. In those of the Latin inscriptions where the dedicatory formula of I.O.M.D. (V, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 16, 20) has not been abbreviated, Dolichenus' name appears as: Dolic[enus], V, 1; Dolchenus, V, 9; Dolychenus, V, 10; Dolichenus, V, 17. In the Greek inscriptions the same name takes the forms of Θεὸς Δολιχηνός (V, 23); Ζεὺς Δολιχηνός (V, 24, 26); Θεὸς Δολοχηνός (V, 13); Θεὸς Δολιχαῖος (V, 11); the ethnicon is abbreviated in only one inscription to Ζεὺς Μ(έγιστος) Δ(ολιχηνός)? (V, 14). The last two forms have been attested only in the Greek inscriptions from Moesia Inferior, while the Latin form of Dolichenus is known from two inscriptions from Rome and Britain. The form of Δολιχαῖος, which appears only on our relic, occurs also in a very much disputed passage by Stephanos Byzantios: ἔστι καὶ Δολίχη πόλις τῆς Κομμαγενῆς; ἐθνικὸν Δολιχαῖος Ζεὺς· οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δολιχηνοὶ λέγονται.²⁶ This passage has undergone a substantial correction in Meineke,²⁷ and has been accepted by Hettner and Kan, but has been rejected by Merlat²⁸ and Cumont, who sees no reason for the change. In actual fact, there seems to be no sufficient ground for a substantial correction of the text, which is quite precise and justified from a linguistic point of view; and not least among the considerations is the fact that the Dolichenian cult had spread mainly among the Roman legionaries and the ethnicon of Dolichenus is closer to the Latin word-formation than that of Dolichaïos.

The Latin inscriptions from the two provinces show that Dolichenus was invariably worshipped in syncretism with Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Greek texts offer a comparatively greater variety in this respect. In some of them he appears simply as the Dolichenian God (V, 13, 23), but is mostly syncretized with the Greek Zeus (V, 11, 24, 25) or with Jupiter Maximus (V, 14, 26).

The only epithet attached to Dolichenus in the inscriptions under review is *aeternus* (V, 17) and it is the most characteristic one for him in the entire area of the cult's diffusion, underlying as it does in Merlat's opinion the cosmic nature of this celestial god.²⁹ This epithet is linked in a number of Latin inscriptions with the other characteristic Dolichenian epithet of *conservator*, which is absent from our monuments. The Greek texts, however, show that the dedications are likewise associated with the soteriological functions of Dolichenus (V, 11, 25, 26).

The god's consort, Dolichenian Juno, enjoyed little popularity here as elsewhere in the Roman provinces.³⁰ She is mentioned together with Dolichenus only in the inscription from Vicus Quintionis (V, 16) as Iuno Regina. The goddess is known by this name from other Latin inscriptions³¹ outside the two provinces. Her worship here is attested just on the hand from Bizone (V, 12) and the triangular bronze tablet (V, 17).

A tombstone from Histria (V, 21) has been indicated in the present study as a certain testimony to the cult's diffusion (in spite of Merlat's justified circumspection in this respect) most of all on the ground of the deceased's name, Ἀπολλινάρις Δολιχηνάρις. A justification for this is the confirmation by the newly discovered monuments of the association, which Kan has detected, between Dolichenus and Apollo as saviour gods, according to Merlat.³² This association has been recently substantiated by Speidel as well.³³

In a Latin monument, Dolichenus who is viewed as a Baal and a god inhabiting the vault of heaven and manifesting himself through the roar of thunder, bears the epithet of *exuperantissimus* = *exsuperantissimus*, that is to say ὑψίστος. This aspect of the god has been detected in the monuments with a dedication to Hypsistos (see IV, B, 3) on the ground of the iconography and especially of the eagle in the cult monuments. All this, as well as the link of Dolichenus and his consort with Sarapis and Isis, confronts us with a still insufficiently studied phenomenon, the result of advanced syncretism in the 2nd-3rd century, as well as with the ever more obvious display of pantheism in the god's characteristics and especially those of the cosmocrators, among whom was also Dolichenus, according to the detailed study of P. Merlat.

3. Archaeological Monuments. Iconography

The so far known 13 archaeological relics of the cult have been discovered mainly in Moesia Inferior; only the monument from Cillae (V, 26) came from

Thracia. Almost half of these monuments are also epigraphic (V, 8, 12-14, 17, 20, 26). Among them the most frequently occurring are the sculptural compositions or fragments of such showing a conventional representation of the god standing on a bull. This group is most fully represented on the marble monument from Izgrev (V, 4) which, if one is to judge by the proportions of the representations on the fragments, is so far the biggest from the two provinces. For the rest of the relics of this group, their affiliation is assumed on the basis of the preserved fragments representing the god's figure or the bull's torso (V, 6, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19); all these are marble ones with the exception of the bronze statuette of unidentified provenance in Bucharest (V, 19). The places of discovery of the finds describe a comparatively small area of diffusion for this group of monuments—between the Pontic cities of Tomi and Histria to the north and the road station between Marcianopolis and Noviodunum to the south. This fact, as well as the already indicated similar manner of treatment, viewed in conjunction with the observations on the sculptural heritage of the same area, make even more plausible the assumed local production. The detailed knowledge of the conventional iconography, as well as the similarities of some of the monuments with their parallels from Pannonia, Syria and elsewhere, presuppose the chisel of a foreign-born master craftsman, most probably an immigrant from the east. The iconographic type of the sculptural composition and its origin have been exhaustively researched by Merlat in his two fundamental monographs; the absence of substantial deviations from the type described under V, 4 makes my referring to it again superfluous.

The Muratu relief (V, 13) is assumed to represent a high priest making a libation over an altar. This theme occurs rarely in the Dolichenian relics. It is to be seen on the bronze tablets from Romulianum (today Yassen) in Moesia Inferior and from Lussonium (today Kyomlyod) in Pannonia, as well as in the dedication of a high priest from Rome.³⁴ Merlat is undecided whether the bronze tablets carry the representation of a high priest or of the god himself, as is assumed by Cumont, but is more inclined to accept the representation of a high priest. Any assumption about this relief would suffer from an absence of sufficient proof because there is no evidence about the clothes of the depicted figure. It could represent a high priest, but just as well Dolichenus in his unconventional iconography, i.e. not standing on a bull's back; he appears in the traditional iconography of Zeus, with whom the Dolichenian god was in syncretism, according to the inscription.

The only bronze hand so far discovered in the two provinces (V, 12 from Bizone) supplements the list of the known relics of this type from the Rhine-Danube limes by an exemplar which is unique in its representations. This is the only hand on which one sees the representation (in relief) of one of the Castores, as well as an incised eagle and a peacock with a pomegranate. The latter may be assumed to have symbolized the gods themselves, if one is to go

by the representations on the recently published hand from Comana Cappadociae.³⁵ This hand also has another important significance—the impossibility of its being included into any of the so far enumerated typological groups emphasizes the difficulty of solving this problem, as well as the inconvincibility of the typologies so far advanced. In his publication on the hand from Myszkow, for example, D. Lusthaus³⁶ divided the then known bronze hands into three groups: votive (with an inscription on the wrist), cult (in the act of *benedictio latina*) and apotropaic (with representations of snakes, lizards, etc.). According to this classification, the hands of the Dolichenian cult could be assigned only to the first group. Later F. Lang³⁷ divided the hands of only the Dolichenian cult into two types: votive—with a ring at the wrist for standing them up and an inscription with the names of the god and the dedicator—the hands from Heddernheim, Myszkow and Canutele (without an inscription);³⁸ the other group—with a hole in the wrist for affixing and symbolic representations associated with the god—he defined as shrine furnishings or as topping a high priest's sceptre; here he included the hands from Budapest, Mauer-an-der-Url and Vienna.³⁹ The unsatisfactoriness of this typology became obvious from Merlat's interpretation written at the same time but published in 1960. On the ground of the six certain monuments known to him, he did not venture to divide them according to type, but indicated a number of important considerations which ought to be taken into account, as, for example, the presence of an inscription, the presence or absence of a hole for affixing (to a sceptre) and a ring for standing them up. These externals are obviously insufficient for setting the hands apart according to type; in his view, they could be votive (and hence apotropaic), kept at the shrines and taken out in ceremonial processions or crowning a high priest's sceptre.⁴⁰

The hand from Comana Cappadociae already mentioned, prompted the advancing of a new division according to type, in which the representations on the hands⁴¹ have been used as a fresh criterion, in the author's view. In the first group were included the hands without ornamentation, but with a dedication to the god on the wrist, a dedication which often imparts both the name and the occupation of the dedicator; here are listed the hands from Budapest, Heddernheim and Myszkow (which carries a representation), as well as the hands the inscription of which does not mention the god's name (from these the author has excluded the Sabazios hands, but has not alluded to those associated with Hypsistos and these latter could have come into the group). In the second group have been included the hands without an inscription, but with a stand for the god's figure or a candelabrum; here are listed the hand from Canutele and those from Amiens, Argilly and Lezoux.⁴² The third group is meant for the hands devoid of both inscriptions and representations (?); in it is included the hand from Martigny.⁴³ The fourth group is that of the hands

without an inscription, but with reliefs of the gods themselves (Dolichenian Jupiter and Juno) on the palm; here belong the hands from Vienna and Comana Cappadociae. On the strength of this division according to type, J. Wagner defines the hand from Comana Cappadociae, listed in group four, as a votive offering of a civilian to be used as a shrine furnishing or as the top of a sceptre. As is plainly to be seen, these inferences do not proceed from the division according to type, which is in no way of assistance to the author, but out of other considerations. These considerations are of significance in defining the dedicator as a civilian, and not in qualifying the hand as a votive offering or in determining the purpose it served.

In addition to the omissions in the various groups, there are other remarks which could be made in respect to the division according to type made by Wagner, who obviously has not taken into account the hand from Bizone published in 1951; these remarks would show the uncertainty of the criterion selected to clarify the nature of these types of monuments in ancient religious thinking, as well as its not too strict application. The necessity is not clear of separating the hands with an inscription, which actually provide the most precise information, from those with ornamentation; no more clear is the reason for separating the latter hands into two groups according to the place of the gods represented on them (in the order of their significance for the cult); equally unclear is the criterion which would be used in assigning monuments to the third group.

The hand from Myszkow as well as that from Bizone, both referred with certainty to the Dolichenian cult because of their inscriptions and representations, likewise controvert the next advanced division according to type in accordance with which they both could with equal justification be included in the first two groups; the hand from Bizone on its part creates fresh difficulties with the appearance on it of the companions of the Dolichenian gods among the representations so far known. The observations made thus far come to show that if one wants to arrive at a stable division according to type, which would not be refuted by the next find, many more investigations are necessary yet. They would have to clarify not only the religious meaning implied by the representations and viewed in its development, but also the place and specific traits of this type of monuments among the cult accessories of the various ancient religions, their geographic distribution and, last but not least, the general tendency in religious life, marked by syncretism, pantheism and the growing monotheistic trends of the decaying antique civilization.

The bronze tablet of unidentified provenance (V, 17) belongs to a series of other similar relics discovered along the Rhine-Danube limes.⁴⁴ According to Merlat, they must have been dedicated by soldiers (if one is to go by their distribution) and were the most important objects of the cult rites, carrying as they do all essential representations and symbols.⁴⁵ The investigations of I.

Tóth have brought him to the inference that the metal stands of these triangular tablets were likewise closely associated with the cult's symbolic meaning—they were attached to a long carrying pole by arched props ending in snake's heads. From here he infers the significance of these snake-props as acolytes of the cosmocrator god, and also that they should be interpreted as symbols of the Dolichenian Castores. In his opinion, an identical role was assigned to the snakes on the tablets themselves, among which is the one under consideration here, very much like those on altars and the pedestals of statues (for example, on the monument from Cillae V, 26).⁴⁶

The representation of a patera on the altar from Novae (V, 20) is among the most frequently occurring elements of the decoration on the Dolichenian monuments of this type.⁴⁷ This is a fact which could enhance to a degree the probability of this altar having been actually dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and not to Jupiter Depulsor, as has been recently assumed.

4. *Diffusion of the Cult. Chronology and Centres*

The chronology of the diffusion of the Dolichenian cult in the Roman empire shows that, though the earliest monuments are referred to the reign of Hadrian, the big surge in the spread began under Antoninus Pius and reached its peak in the age of the Severi. In the reign of Antoninus Pius the cult was already known in Dacia, but it penetrated the Thracian lands to the south of the Danube somewhat later. If one of the relics from Novae (V, 20) could actually be associated with the Dolichenian cult, which is quite probable (and not with that of Jupiter Depulsor), then the penetration of the Syrian cult in Moesia Inferior could be assigned to the second half of the 2nd century AD. If, however, this relic is not taken into account, then the first certain evidence for the penetration is from the period of co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198-208)—the inscription from Durostorum (V, 5). It was in the period of his dynasty's reign that all the rest of the inscriptions from this province and from Thracia as well (with the exception of the one from Dragoevo, V, 3) were dedicated.

It is difficult to determine the beginning of the Dolichenian cult's penetration in Thracia. If one should accept Merlat's reading on the restoration of a temple to Dolichenus in Augusta Traiana under Alexander Severus (V, 23), then it is possible to assume that it was built some half a century earlier. Merlat fixes the year of 180 for the building of the temple, but this cannot be accepted with certainty. G. Mihailov is justified in doubting that in the last two lines of the text on the monument: ἀναλαμβάνετε τὸν ναὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ δι(σ)κίπλιναν τὴν ΙΕΡΟΙ, the verb of ἀναλαμβάνω should actually be taken in its meaning of 'restoring' especially in view of the end of the quoted text. Incompetently and carelessly executed, the text is difficult to interpret and its

evidentiary value on the beginning of the cult's penetration is small. That is why here also, just as in Thracia, the cult's certain attesting is again associated with the co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in the inscription from Cillae (V, 26).

As has already been indicated, the worship has left no epigraphic trace in Thracia after the Severi. In Moesia Inferior there is just a single dedication dated with certainty to the reign of Gordian (V, 3). It is important because it shows that both the dedicator high priests and also life at the temple (the shrine of Dolichenus) had survived the outrage, which I. Tóth has substantiated, and which Maximinus Thrax perpetrated on the shrines and the devotees of Dolichenus in Germania Superior, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia and Moesia Superior (the temple at Brza Palanka); the wholesale looting of temples and their property, as well as the physical annihilation of the cult's devotees was aimed, in the author's opinion, at replenishing the Imperial treasury for the military campaigns.⁴⁸ There is no information neither about Dacia, nor about Moesia Inferior from among the Danubian provinces⁴⁹ of such an outrage, which has been convincingly attested for the above listed provinces. It is quite true that there is no evidence on the worship after the indicated inscription, but this applies in equal measure to other cults as well and should be viewed against the background of the general historical circumstances in the area under consideration. One should not only take into account Maximinus' outrage, but also the Persian incursion under Shapur I in Syria, when the centre of the cult's diffusion was destroyed.⁵⁰

The catalogue of the known monuments to the cult shows plainly the different intensity of its spread in the provinces under review. Only four certain monuments are known from Thracia and these pinpoint the city of Augusta Traiana as the only centre of the worship in the age of the Severi. The monument from Cillae (V, 26) will be dealt with further below. Most of the inscriptions from Moesia Inferior have come from its north-eastern part (V, 5-16)—the headquarters of the provincial garrison and the cities by the Pontus to the north of Bizone. In the province's interior, traces of the Dolichenian cult have been discovered at a marketing-centre (V, 2), a road station (V, 4) and, quite unexpectedly, at Dragoevo (V, 3) where the only so far known traces of religious life were linked with the worship of the Thracian rider god. There is no evidence of any important cult centre in Moesia Inferior, such as, for example, Ratiaria and Romulianum in the neighbouring districts of Moesia Superior.

5. Ethnic Origin and Social Status of Dedicators

The relics from the two provinces do not offer adequate direct and certain evidence on the ethnic origin and social status of the Dolichenian devotees. The fact that a considerable part of the archaeological and epigraphic material

has been discovered at the important military centres or their territories draws one's attention to the military circles of the population. On the other hand, the slight diffusion of the worship in Thracia, where the garrison was small and was recruited in the 3rd century pre-eminently from the local population, is also an indication that the propagators of the worship should be looked for in the army and especially among its foreign recruits. The indicated phenomenon was not a local one; in the rest of the European provinces the worship was found to have spread most of all at or near the camp centres along the Lower Danube limes. This observation was implicitly implied in some monographs on the worship, but recently Speidel's study has contributed a great deal to the clarification of the various phenomena and characterizations of the 'military' aspect of Dolichenus. He pointed out that only 40 per cent of the dedications to the god were associated with soldiers, officers and veterans or army units, 'but his cult cannot be said to have been military rather than civilian whether in doctrine, ritual or social and geographic distribution.'⁵¹ Speidel's research is very useful in spite of isolated overinterpretations which do not take into account the development of some cult phenomena or their local particularities.

Concrete evidence on links with the army in our inscriptions has been discovered only in Moesia Inferior—in the inscriptions from Novae (V, 1, 20?) and Dionysopolis (V, 11), but such links may be assumed with a good deal of certainty in a number of other relics as well. Among these latter may be indicated the triangular bronze tablet of unidentified provenance (V, 17) which carries the representation of Victory with a wreath among the other decorations, but it is quite possible that she should have been crowned with the same representation similarly to the rest of the parallel instances. In my opinion, Merlat has proved quite convincingly for these relics that in most of the cases they must have been dedicated by soldiers at the camp centres where they have been found. In his view, these were easily transported cult objects related to military life by way of the likenesses of Victory, Mars, Heracles or Minerva⁵² represented on them. According to Speidel, the presence of Victory on the monuments to Dolichenus signified a triumph, and not only military, but also a moral one,⁵³ and this is quite so, but when the dedicator was a soldier the expectation was naturally for a victory in battle. Such was, for instance, the case with the bronze hand from Myszkow dedicated by Gaius *optio c(o)h(ortis) I Hisp(anorum) miliariae*, between the thumb and forefinger of which is represented Victory.⁵⁴ This hand is basically a complete parallel to the hand from Bizone on which the text is not on the wrist, but on the small surface of the globe, on which Victory stands.⁵⁵ That was the reason why the text indicated the more important information about the dedicator—that he was a high priest of the god, while the information about his occupation, which I believe to have been military, was skipped. This belief of mine is not based

solely on the considerations expressed up to now in the literature on this kind of cult objects, and which support my assumption. I also have in mind the fact that the inscription is in Latin. I will recall here that it is only in our provinces that dedications in Greek are to be met with, and in Moesia Inferior at that, where the official language was Latin, with the exception of Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum and the Pontic cities. Latin inscriptions there and especially in the Pontic cities were few and far between. As is to be seen also from the inscriptions to Dolichenus, the dedications from Dionysopolis (V, 11), Tomi (V, 14) and Histria (V, 21) were in Greek. This is one of my considerations not only to maintain the link of this cult object with the military occupation, but also to assume that the hand was not discovered at a shrine, as was indicated in its first publication by G. Toncheva. The same consideration makes it possible to explain the Latin text in the inscription from Vicus Quin-tionis (V, 16), where the cult's devotees must have been retired veterans. However, it is hardly applicable for the dedicators from the unidentified vicus on the territory of Noviodunum (V, 10), though in another inscription from the same area (V, 9) military men may be assumed for the dedicators because of the reference to Julia Domna as *mater castrorum*. A dedicator of the military profession is most probably to be detected in the lost part of the text on the relic from Tropaeum Traiana (V, 7) if one is to go by the attested composition of its inhabitants. The so far assumed link of the dedicators with the army cannot be said to have been conclusively established but, on the other hand, there are no considerations which could be put forward in favour of their affiliation to the civilian population. The percentage of both certain and assumed dedicators of the military profession reproduce the ratio established for the cult's devotees in the empire (around 40 per cent).

Among the dedicators was a special-task soldier (attached to the military tribune, V, 1), a former *beneficiarius consularis* and later city councillor (V, 11) and an officer of the lower ranks (V, 20). Conspicuous is the absence of dedicators belonging to the higher army ranks, such as are to be observed on the monuments to Sarapis (see I, B, 4, 6) and this is not a local particularity for the two provinces, but is characteristic for the entire area of the cult's diffusion.⁵⁶ This shows that the Dolichenus worshippers came mainly from among the officers of the lower ranks and very probably from among the rank-and-file soldiers, who had left no epigraphic evidence, while Sarapis was the god who brought victory to the emperors and their generals.

From among the civilian population, dedications to Dolichenus were made by a wine merchant (V, 23) in Augusta Traiana and city councillors of the same city (V, 23, 25), as well as of Dionysopolis (V, 11).

No direct information is so far available on dedicators who were slaves or freed slaves and were associated with the Dolichenian cult in the two provinces. A probable slave status is suggested, though indirectly, by the single

names of the dedicators of inscriptions in Emporium Piretensium (V, 2-Flavius), Vicus Quintionis (V, 16-Marciana) and Augusta Traiana (V, 24-Φλάουιος καὶ Ἡλιδώωρος). It could be assumed—on the ground of monuments discovered at the marketing-centre of Piretensium (V, 2) and the road stations at Cillae (V, 26) and near the village of Izgrev (V, 4)—that a greater number of merchants were affiliated to the Dolichenian cult than could be gleaned from the epigraphic evidence. Such merchants of Syrian origin, attested more fully in the rest of the provinces along the limes, may be surmised also among the high priests with theophoric names; the inscription of the merchant from Augusta Traiana (V, 23) shows that here too merchants and members of the provincial aristocracy fulfilled priestly functions alongside their lay occupations.⁵⁷

In clarifying the social status of the Dolichenian devotees one should also take into account the fact that in the province of Moesia Inferior 11 out of the 14 inscriptions are associated with high priests (in Thracia, two out of the four). This goes to show that the members of the Dolichenian religious communities must have belonged pre-eminently to the not so well-off classes of the population; they were not so wealthy as to leave epigraphic traces.⁵⁸

The thing that impresses most of all both as information and as inference in analysing the Dolichenian worshippers' ethnic origin is the total absence of dedicators with Thracian names or an assumed Thracian origin. No dedications have likewise come from the interior of the two provinces inhabited by a compact Thracian population. The only centre of the cult's diffusion in Thracia was Augusta Traiana, but there again the dedicators were obviously foreigners—the high priest Αὐρ. Σαβεῖνος Θειοφίλου Σύρος, as well as the city councillors from Aquincum (V, 25) and Dacia (V, 23). The prevailing inference is also confirmed by the analysis of the information about high priests (see under V, B, 6).

There is no epigraphic evidence on Dolichenian worshippers among the provincial garrison, nor among the Thracian veterans. In this connection, I would like to recall that there is no certain information on the participation of army units from the Moesia Inferior garrison in the Syrian wars of Septimius Severus, and such participation in the Parthian wars of Caracalla may only be conjectured. In contrast to the eastern campaigns during the 2nd century, the garrison's participation in events in the east is smaller than that of the legions from Dacia, Moesia Superior and Pannonia. This could probably be the reason for the slighter spread of the Dolichenian cult in Moesia Inferior in comparison with the other provinces of the Rhine-Danube limes. These observations show that Dolichenus was worshipped most probably by the troops recruited first and foremost in the east. Such have been attested in the 2nd century AD, while at the beginning of the 3rd century their relative share increased substantially just as much in the legions as in the auxiliary troops.

Though the ethnic composition of the *ali* and cohorts here was characterized by a preponderance of the Thracians, by the end of the 2nd century orientals were to be observed also in army units which were not recruited in the east.⁵⁹

The dedicators of monuments to Dolichenus in the Thracian lands to the south of the Danube were obviously foreigners. In favour of the preponderance of orientals, though camouflaged by conventional or theophoric names, are the orientalisms to be observed in a number of relics and in the Greek language of the inscriptions of the Moesia Inferior dedicators.

6. *The Cult. Temples and High Priests*

The relatively great share of Dolichenian high priests among the dedicators of monuments has already been emphasized. Of the dedications so far discovered in Moesia Inferior, only two are not certainly associated with high priests (V, 1, 21 from Novae), while two have come down to us with incomplete texts which offer no precise information in this respect (V, 7, 14). In Thracia, half of the inscriptions are linked with high priests (V, 23, 26). Chronologically, they first appeared during the co-rule of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in both provinces and are referred (with the exception of V, 3) to the age of the Severi.

Some of the high priests were obviously merchants (V, 23) and well-off enough to be able to provide funds for *sportulas* (V, 3) or even the building of a temple (V, 10).

The establishing of the high priests' ethnic origin is rendered difficult by their theophoric names. Of probable Syrian origin were the high priests Αὐρ. Σαβεῖνος Θειοφίλου Σύρος of Augusta Traiana (V, 23), Aur. Antiochianus of Emporium Piretensium (V, 2), Lucius Capito, Flavius Damas and Aquila Barsemon from the territory of Noviodunum (V, 9, 10), Aur. Marinus Romanus of the territory of Troesmis (V, 8).

Among the characteristically priestly names could be listed Aquila (in the inscriptions V, 10 from the territory of Noviodunum and V, 26 from Cillae) and Barsemon (V, 10),⁶⁰ associated with the constant Dolichenian companion—the eagle.

Another large part of high priests' names in our inscriptions are associated with the names of the characteristic Dolichenian companions Castor and Pollux (Polydeuces). Castor is attested as a priestly name in the inscriptions from Dragoevo (V, 3) and Cillae (V, 26, two high priests), as well as in inscriptions from Pannonia and Dacia.⁶¹ The name of Polydeuces is attested only in the inscriptions of the high priests from Durostorum (V, 5), the territory of Noviodunum (V, 9) and Cillae (V, 26). These names appear in four inscriptions from four different parts of the two provinces and were offered for the good health and prosperity of the emperors. What is more, two of these in-

scriptions are the first monuments to the cult dated with certainty in Moesia Inferior (V, 5) and Thracia (V, 26) and were dedicated to the co-emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla by four high priests in each inscription (this is a unique number of high priests attested in the epigraphic relics of Dolichenus for the whole of the empire). In my opinion, this phenomenon in the cult's history may be explained by the passage of the Imperial family in 202 across Thracia, Moesia and Pannonia and the events linked with the tenth anniversary of Septimius Severus' victory in the civil war. When one takes into account the symbolism which typified the eastern manner of religious and political thinking, it is quite warrantable to assume that the co-emperors in this case were celebrated by the Dolichenian devotees as Castores and in this connection the high priests themselves received the respective theophoric names.⁶²

Archaeological investigations have not so far revealed any temple (shrine) to Dolichenus in the two provinces; one may judge about such solely from direct or indirect epigraphic evidence. The inscriptions have attested just one temple on the territory of Noviodunum (V, 10)—*templum*, under Elagabalus (according to Merlat) whose name was deleted because of damnation and substituted by that of Alexander Severus, as well as another inscription from Augusta Traiana (V, 23)—*ναός*, again with the name of Alexander Severus. In actual fact, these were the centres of the cult in the two provinces as has been attested without doubt by the rest of the known relics. The interpretation of the monuments has so far shown that in the Dolichenian cult it is difficult to prove without fail a connection between the attested high priests and temples at the inscriptions' provenance. That is why a reduction in the number of temples (shrines) to Dolichenus assumed on this ground in the two provinces⁶³ is called for. If one is to take into account the cult practices attested solely in the inscriptions, then cult centres may be presumed at Cillae, where there is evidence of the practice of incubation (V, 26), and at Dragoevo, where the high priests' *sportulas* suggest a probable religious community (V, 3). When one bears in mind that from the two road stations near the village of Izgrev (where a cult statue is assumed for V, 4) and at Cillae, only relics associated with the worship of the Thracian rider god have so far come to light, then it becomes obvious that the monuments to Dolichenus should be linked with the presence of Syrian merchants. In such case, this evidence, coupled with the information about temples at Noviodunum and Augusta Traiana, determine the communication lines used in the age of the Severi by the Syrian trade in Moesia Inferior: the section Marcianopolis-Noviodunum, and in Thracia: (Philippopolis)-Cillae-Augusta Traiana. The rest of the dedications and particularly those associated with the emperors of the Severan dynasty (V, 1, 5, 8, 11, 16) come to bear testimony to the encouragement which the reigning dynasty gave to the cult of their native land, as well as to the Syrian interests throughout the empire.⁶⁴

SECTION FOUR

OTHER EASTERN GODS AND CULTS

VI. THE GODDESSES ON THE BRONZE PLAQUES FROM RAZGRAD AND THEIR PARALLELS

A. *Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments* (VI, 1-14)

1. **Abritus** - Razgrad

Frontispiece

Rectangular bronze plaque with complicated profiled border. Measurements: height 0.19 m, width 0.169 m, thickness about 0.006 m.

At the museum of history in Razgrad.

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 191, No 8, fig. 8.

Nearly the entire pictorial field is taken up by the bust of a goddess dressed in a draped, long-sleeved garment, her arms bent at the elbows and her palms facing front. Her head is crowned by a high kalathos broader at the top. The decoration on the kalathos is in two bands. The lower band is formed by a spiral-shaped ornament enclosing a star-like rosette with many petals, and the upper one, by alternating triangles, star-like rosettes inscribed in circles and one rosette with six petals. The hair frames symmetrically the rounded forehead and falls in two locks on either side over the bust and shoulders. Three necklaces (torques) are depicted on the goddess' neck; the first and the third have each a pendant in the shape of a crescent. Wide bracelets encircle the wrists. On either side of the kalathos are hanging by a thick cord a *tympanum* with a ribbon (to the left of the kalathos) and two tassels, according to Kazarov, but more likely cymbals.¹

2. **Abritus**.

Plate LXXXI

Rectangular bronze plaque with a complicated profiled border, but different from the preceding. Measurements: height 0.135 m, width 0.11 m, thickness 0.005 m.

At the museum of history in Razgrad.

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 192, No 9, fig. 9.

The entire pictorial field is taken up by the goddess' figure enveloped in a long-sleeved, finely draped, girt chiton. The arms, bent at the elbows, have disproportionately large palms, facing front and placed on a level with the goddess' face. Her head is crowned by three kalathoses decorated with vertical fluting. Below them is shown the thick hair falling symmetrically on either side in two thick strands over the shoulders and framing the round face. There are two torques on her neck and wide bracelets encircle the wrists and arms above the elbow. Above the lower border is depicted a fish, facing left.

3. Abritus.

Plate LXXXI

Rectangular bronze plaque with a border just like the one on VI, 2. Measurements: height 0.088 m, width 0.065 m, thickness 0.006 m.

At the museum of history in Razgrad.

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 192 ff., No 10, fig. 10.

Here again the entire pictorial field is taken up by the figure of the goddess shown down to the girdle of the chiton. Her likeness is absolutely identical with that on VI, 2 and the hands are depicted in the same pose and gesture. Only the kalathoses are more clearly delineated and her neck is encircled by a torque with a pendant consisting of a crescent and a small ball (sun?). There is no representation of a fish.

4. Abritus.

Plate LXXXII

Rectangular bronze plaque with a border just like the one on VI, 2. Measurements: height 0.085 m, width 0.072 m, thickness 0.005 m.

At the museum of history in Razgrad.

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 193, No 11, fig. 11, 11a.

This plaque carries the representation of a goddess wearing a broad, fluted kalathos. The hair is depicted sketchily in two tufts which do not frame the face but fall on either side in two horizontally incised strands and leave the earrings visible. The arms are shown above the elbows and are encircled by two bracelets each. On the goddess' neck are torques with three pendants. To the left of the kalathos is an object which Kazarov identifies as a bent Phrygian flute, and to the right, a rosette with five petals. On the back is an incised inscription of which the letters ΕΠΕΙΚ are legible.

5. Abritus.

Plate LXXXII

Trapeziform bronze plaque, rounded at the top and with a raised edge instead of a border. Measurements: height 0.075 m, width 0.055 m, thickness about 0.005 m.

At the museum of history in Razgrad.

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 194, No 12, fig. 12.

The representation of this goddess differs greatly from the preceding ones and not only in the rough and sketchy workmanship. There is no kalathos, and the goddess' hands are placed below the breasts.² There are torques on the neck and bracelets on the wrists.

6. Abritus.

Rectangular bronze plaque with a double border. Measurements: height 0.092 m, width 0.083 m, thickness about 0.007 m.

At the museum of history in Razgrad (formerly housed at the Varna museum).

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 196, No 17, fig. 17.

Here again is shown the bust of a goddess down to the girdle of the chiton, which is decorated with clasps above the elbows and on the breasts. The head is crowned by a huge, richly ornamented and radially segmented kalathos. On the neck is a torque or a necklace with pendants. Below the kalathos is visible the thick unruly hair falling symmetrically in light shallow waves over the breasts and shoulders. To the left of the goddess is a representation in which Kazarov sees a sun and above it a crescent, and to her right a representation which Kazarov identifies with that on VI, 4 (a flute?).

7. Abritus.

Rectangular bronze plaque without border. Measurements: height 0.121 m, width 0.073 m, thickness about 0.008 m. At the top is a rectangular protuberance which is 0.025 m high.

At the museum of history in Razgrad (formerly housed at the Varna museum).

Kazarov in *AA* 37, 1922, *kol.* 195, No 16, fig. 16, 16a; Y. Yuroukova, *Religiozniyat sinkretizum v Trakiya, Miziya i Makedoniya spored monetite ot rimskata epoha* in *IAI* 34, 1974, 39, Pl. VIII, fig. 2.

A young goddess in full face on the point of sitting down is represented in high relief. She has a crown of seven rays on her head and these Yuroukova accepts as radiating from a moon disc. She is dressed in a long chiton which falls in graceful folds below the knees leaving visible the shod feet. Over the chiton is a *lorica*; a cloak is thrown over the shoulders and pulled up over the left arm in which is a *parazonium* (according to Yuroukova; a staff, according to Kazarov). With her right hand the goddess is leaning on a spear and next to her left arm is a shield. In the top right-hand corner of the plaque is an eagle, and in the bottom left-hand corner, a dog with its head turned towards the goddess. On the back of the plaque is an incised illegible inscription, very probably that of the craftsman.

It was Kazarov who saw in this representation the image of the Pontic high goddess Mâ, heiress to an older Cappadocian goddess, if one is to go by Strabo's information (XII, 3, 32). The presence of the dog he attributes to her identification with Athena, and that of the eagle, to the association with the cult of Mithras. This relief has a rather close parallel in a monument published

by Seyrig.³ It features a goddess dressed likewise in a short-sleeved chiton, cuirass and chlamys. Her right hand is resting on a spear, and in her left one she is holding a sword with a flat *parazonium*. On her head she has a big crown with nine rays, while two eagles perch symmetrically on her shoulders. The publisher identifies the image with the blood-thirsty goddess introduced by Sulla on his return from Asia and called by the Romans Bellona. Proceeding from the attested solar aspect of the Hittite goddess (Mâ), he indicated that Mâ was not simply the high goddess of nature, but also a royal goddess with a solar aspect (which was retained in her radiate crown).

The research of Yuroukova on the syncretic deities represented on coins is also of importance for this examination and interpretation of the Razgrad relics. On the basis of the complex syncretism of a representation of Victoria-Demeter-Tyche (known to us from coins minted at Stobi, Laodicea and Nicomedia) with Mâ on a coin from Stobi, she indicates the Artemis-Mâ syncretism known to us from Lycian and Pamphylian coins. A similar link was also seen by Kazarov.⁴

8. Village of Mihailovo, Stara Zagora district (the territory of **Augusta Traiana**). Plate LXXXIII

Rectangular silver-foil *lamella* with an impressed representation. Discovered in a small clay vessel of the Roman period, probably from a burial. Measurements: height 0.072 m, width 0.056 m.

At the museum of history in Kazanluk.

Kazarov in *Sbornik V. Zlatarski*, Sofia 1925, 99, fig. 1; Idem in *AA* 40, 1925, 41, fig. 2.

The representation is damaged but the bust of a clothed woman in full face is discernible. On her head is a kalathos, broader at the top and radially segmented and decorated with a cribriform ornament. The thick hair falls symmetrically from under it and frames the face. On the garment above the breasts are depicted two *phalerae*, and the neck is encircled by a necklace with acorn-like pendants. To the left of the head is a rosette with four petals. The *lamella* is inclosed in a quill-like frame, according to Kazarov. The writer quotes as a parallel instance a representation (VI, 6 in this study) on the Razgrad plaques.

9. Village of Pchelno (formerly Kouvandjilar), Turgovishte district.

Trapeziform silver-foil *lamella* with an impressed representation, broken at the top. Discovered in a burial. Measurements: height 0.067 m, width 0.065 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Kazarov in *AA* 42, 1927, 336, No. 1, fig. 18.

Bust of a clothed woman with a protuberance (*phalera*? according to Kazarov) in the centre. The face is framed by thick hair falling down symmetrically in two locks. The *lamella* has a border which resembles that of VI, 8. In the writer's view, this *lamella* is reminiscent of the *aedicula* from Thessalonica featuring a representation of the Mother of Gods.⁵

10. Village of Opaka, Turgovishte district.

Trapeziform bronze plaque. Measurements: height 0.099 m, width 0.085-0.065 m, thickness 0.004-0.005 m.

At the museum of history in Shoumen.

Kazarov in *Sbornik V. Zlatarski*, Sofia 1925; Kazarov in *AA* 1938, 199.

The plaque carries the representation of a female bust clothed in a short-sleeved chiton. The hands are placed on the breast and there are bracelets on the wrists. The hair frames symmetrically the face. On the neck is a necklace or torque with a crescent-shaped pendant. Next to the bust are depicted objects which are difficult to identify; among them is a disc-like protuberance with an incised cross and four dots in the segments, as well as two others with incised circles. Compare as parallel instances the silver *lamellae* VI, 8 and 9, as well as the representations on the *phalera* from Galiche (VI, 11).

11. Village of Galiche, Oryahovo county, Pleven district. Plate LXXXIV

Silver gilt *phalera*, its border decorated with an ovoid ornament. Diameter: 0.183 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 5876.

B. Filov, I. Velkov in *IBAD* 7, 1919/20, 147, fig. 106, 107.

The *phalera* bears the representation of a female bust. The thick hair, in two big locks, frames symmetrically the face. The low-cut garment is richly ornamented. Eight torques are visible on the breast and neck. The arms have five bracelets each above the elbows. On either side of the bust, on a level with the shoulders, is a bird (dove?).

The *phalera* was unearthed together with another 11 similar ones; of these only two have representations. The one is decorated with a rosette with eight petals, and the other, with a horseman wearing several torques and riding to the right. The find is dated to the 2nd-1st century B.C.

12. Unidentified city between Gorna Gradeshnitsa and Ilindentsi, locality of Valogui, (province of Macedonia). Plate LXXXIII

Fragment (upper part) of a marble votive tablet with a pediment and traces of acroteria. Measurements: height 0.24 m, width 0.28 m, thickness 0.055 m.

In the collection of the village of Ilindentsi.

Mladenova in *Arheologiya* 5, 1963, 4, 27 ff., fig. 3; Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2245.

The tablet represents a woman dressed in a draped short-sleeved chiton. Her hands are raised at the elbows and a little to the side with the palms facing front. The right arm which is almost entirely preserved, has a bracelet. The face is much damaged and is framed by thick short hair parted in the middle. On the pediment is a rosette with four petals, next to which are visible two twigs with thick leaves which fill up the corners. On the lower border of the pediment and by the head is the dedication:

Ἐπηρόω θεᾷ ἀφοσιάκῃ
Ἐρμολύνης Πύρ-
ρου.

This anonymous goddess is identified with Artemis 'warding off evil' (for ἀφοσιάκῃ = ἀποσιακάω, see Mihailov's arguments). The name of Πύρρος, often occurring in this area (see *IGB* IV 2240, 2241, 2263, etc.), is accepted as Greek by L. Robert; it is assigned likewise to the Thracian names, which Detschew thinks to have been derived from a Thracian root-word of the same meaning as the Greek (see the opinions on this in Mihailov). J. Mladenova associates this tablet with two other similar relics (VI, 13, 14), indicating that the representation is that of a goddess and not of a dedicator or devotee. By adducing instances from burial sculptures with similar representations, or with representations only of the two hands with the palms facing front, she accepts Cumont's assumption; according to him they represented an apotropaic gesture against desecrators of tombs and one that had been adopted from the votive offerings, in which the tradition was of very long standing. Here I should like to quote Mladenova's observations on some particularities of the tablet, observations that are of significance for the further research of these relics. She indicates the rarely occurring appearance of the pediment and the rosette in the Thracian votive tablets, but these are quite characteristic of burial sculptures in the area under consideration. She dates the tablet to the end of the 2nd century AD.

13. Near Bachkovo monastery (the territory of **Philippopolis**). Plate LXXXV

Marble votive tablet, broken at the bottom. Measurements: height 0.18 m, width 0.11 m, thickness 0.025 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 4227.

B. Filov in *IBAD* 3, 1913, 51, fig. 45.

The representation is that of a female figure in a girt chiton and veil (cloak?), which envelops the head and figure down to the feet. The two hands

are raised a little to the side with the palms facing front. On either side of the figure is an altar. Filov identifies the representation as that of a female worshipper.

14. Village of Izvor, Yambol district.

Plate LXXXV

Marble votive tablet rounded at the top; the relief is erased to a considerable degree. Measurements: height 0.21 m, width 0.13 m, thickness 0.02 m.

Detschew in *IAI* 8, 1934, 71, No 3, fig. 57.

The representation is that of a woman wearing a long girt chiton and a himation, which covers her head and reaches down to her knees at the back. Her two palms face front. Detschew assumes that two altars were depicted in the bottom corners, similarly to VI, 13. Following Kazarov, he associates the representation with the Anatolian and Syrian high goddess who had fused with the Iranian Anahita from the Razgrad plaques.

B. Interpretation

Ever since their discovery and publication, the bronze plaques from the Razgrad find have been the object of justifiable interest. In the search for an identification or prototypes, the female busts have been variously described as praying temple slaves, female worshippers or the goddesses Anahita, Cybele and others. The nature of the find itself, accidentally discovered and of an uncertain provenance, has also been much debated because of the relics' diversity of purpose. In addition to the plaques with female busts, there are such with representations of a horseman with a rhyton in a mystery (?) scene (whose identification is still unsatisfactory), as well as of Heracles, Artemis, Zeus and Hera, an eagle with a thunder-bolt and a wreath in its beak, a bunch of three leaves; there is also a statuette of Hermes. The find was accidentally discovered near an ancient wall in the canabae settlement of Abritus and the subsequent investigation of the site has thrown no additional light. In Kazarov's view, the objects have come from a destroyed shrine. They are most generally referred to the Roman period (some of them, to the end of the 1st century, but others are obviously of a later date).

I find it difficult to accept Kazarov's opinion that the plaques were found at a shrine, i.e. in situ, first and foremost because in a shrine there would be predominantly stone and marble cult and dedicatory monuments, and not bronze plaques alone. The many similar representations of female busts, on the other hand, would preclude the assumption of a household or garrison shrine. I have also another consideration in mind, which is no less important, namely that not all of the plaques could be described as cult representations or, as some would call them, icons. The protuberance on one side of some of

them (for instance, VI, 7, as well as the plaque with the leaves) would suggest that these plaques were most probably used as *matrices* for metal foil—this assumption of mine is based just as much on the silver representations VI, 8-10, as on the *matrix* from Gurchinovo and especially on observations from a technical point of view on relics of this type.⁶ According to Kazarov, the silver plaques were impressions from a negative *matrix*, a rather presumptive opinion, because his interpretation was made on the basis of a comparatively small number of relics known at that time. At present it seems much more probable that the Razgrad plaques were positive *matrices* for impressing *lamellae* of precious maleable metals; among them are our relics VI, 8 and 9. The probability is enhanced by the similarity in iconography and form between the two types of relics. In view of this, it seems more likely for me to assume that the Razgrad find was a workshop's stock equipment that was hidden during the turbulent times in this area in the first half of the 3rd century AD.

The next major problem which concerns the several plaques with representations of female busts under review here, includes a number of interrelated questions. They refer to the identification of the representations as praying temple slaves, female worshippers or goddesses, as well as to their association with an explicit religious or ethno-cultural community. Submitting for consideration in the following few lines this problem, I am far from the thought of arriving at a final solution. My intention is to offer an interpretation based on the newly discovered monuments and on the achievements of historiography in the past fifty years since the first publications of the Razgrad plaques.

Naturally, the first question pertains to the alternative: are the representations on bronze plaques VI, 1-6 those of goddesses or not? The impression is created here that these representations are not shown in *aediculae* as are the rest of the gods in the find. An exception among the latter is Heracles who is depicted both on a plaque with an *aedicula*, as well as on the only circular plaque in the find, having a border similar to those of the relics under consideration here. Though the only one, this relic is of particular importance for the assumption that the *aedicula* cannot be used as a distinguishing feature for the plaques with female figures from those with representations of gods.

In the second place I would like to touch on the question which concerns directly the alternative: goddesses or not, namely the raised hands with the palms facing front. This gesture focuses attention as soon as the relics under consideration are viewed and is also at the root of the indicated alternative. This gesture is, however, absent from some of them, as well as from similar relics adduced here as parallel instances. There are those who try to explain this absence by the lack of space available to the craftsman, but this explanation seems to me unconvincing.

On the strength of this gesture, the representations may be subdivided into three groups:

(a) representations in which the hands are raised with the palms facing front; here are included plaques VI, 1-3 and their parallels VI, 12-14;

(b) representations in which the palms are depicted in front of (or below) the breasts; this group includes plaque VI, 5 and its parallel VI, 10;

(c) representations in which the arms are visible above the elbows, i.e. there are no palms; here are included plaques VI, 4 and 6 and their close parallels VI, 8, 9, 11.

The symbolism of the gesture of the raised hands with the palms facing front is variously interpreted. Zhebelev regards it as devotional and raises the logical question: if these should be goddesses, to whom then were they turning in prayer? As a matter of course, an answer in the negative, as well as the parallel instances he adduces from Egypt, Asia Minor and most of all the iconography of an altar from Rome, provide the basis for his assumption that the representations should be associated with praying temple slaves, while parallel instance VI, 13 represents a female worshipper.⁷ This is how the latter monument is interpreted by Filov as well, while Kazarov justifiably rejects this view in his article in the *Real Encyclopädie*.⁸ The fact that he does not repeat there his assumption on an identification with Anahita, an assumption put forth in his publication (*AA* 37, 1922) is, in my opinion, evidence of his having understood its improbability. Y. Todorov has accepted Rostovtzeff's view, of which mention will be made later. T. Ivanov describes one of the representations as Cybele (VI, 1) and another as Anahita (VI, 2), but has not set forth his arguments, obviously because of the popular nature of his publication.⁹

The gesture of the raised hands with the palms facing front, very popular in the religious and burial monuments in various parts of the Mediterranean world, obviously had its origin in an old tradition. As far as the monuments associated with this gesture in the area under review here are concerned, there is no evidence for defining it as devotional. We have, however, a votive relief (VI, 13) the text of which may be used as an indication of the symbolic meaning of the gesture. The anonymous goddess in it, her palms facing front, is 'heedful' (ἐπίχρους) and 'warding off evil' (ἀποσίχακος = ἀποσίχακος). This goddess is identified with Artemis.¹⁰ Consequently, the gesture of Artemis warding off evil corresponds to the dedicator's choice of a function for the goddess and should also be regarded as warding off evil, i.e. as an apotropaic gesture. These were the considerations which gave me ground to define the figures on the three Razgrad plaques as representations of this same goddess who wards off evil and the meaning of whose cult was enriched as a result of the religious syncretism which characterized the period. Here I have in mind mainly the representation of a fish on one of the plaques (VI, 2), which sug-

gests syncretism with Atagartis, the Hierapolitan hypostasis of the ancient Semitic high goddess (Astarte).¹¹

If one is to go by a number of iconographic features shared in common by the goddesses' representations of the first and second group, as well as by the obviously local parallel instance (VI, 10), then for the second group of relics (VI, 5, 10) a syncretic cult of the local Thracian goddess may also be surmised. In them, however, the hands placed on the breast point to a syncretism with another goddess, again of Semitic origin, that is to say, with Anaïtis (Anahita)¹² who was adopted and made popular by the Persians.

The third group of Razgrad plaques (VI, 4, 6, without representations of palms) has its closest parallel in the silver plaque from Stara Zagora district (VI, 8). We see in this relic the connecting link between them and the other parallels adduced here (VI, 9, 11). The goddess in them has no kalathos, but this distinguishing feature is likewise absent in the second group, something that reduces here the degree of difference. Of greater importance in my view is the obvious parallelism (assumed by Rostovtzeff and Kazarov) between the plaques of this group and the *phalera* from Galiche (VI, 11), a relic which is among those most characteristic of Thracian toreutics in the pre-Roman era. Rostovtzeff links the goddess on the *phalera* with the representation of a horseman on another *phalera* of the same find and sees in this a scene of investiture that characterized the Thracian and Scythian monuments and one that had been adopted from Iranian religious and political symbolism. This interpretation of the goddess from Galiche is at the basis of his assumption that the Razgrad plaques demonstrate the adaptation of the foreign, Iranian cult to that of the Thracian high goddess.¹³ The link between the goddesses of the Razgrad plaques and the representation from Stara Zagora district provides the ground for Dölger, followed by Kazarov, to claim that that goddess should be viewed as Bendis.¹⁴

Rostovtzeff's views on the nature of the Thracian high goddess and her link with the goddesses on the Razgrad plaques have, in my opinion, been confirmed, though with certain corrections, by the newly discovered monuments, which provide parallel instances, as well as by contemporary research on Thracian religion.

Therefore, the interpretation of the representations on the bronze plaques from Razgrad comes to show that they should be associated with syncretic goddesses. At the root of the syncretism in the goddesses with their hands raised in an apotropaic gesture is the goddess Artemis warding off evil; she also appears on Thracian votive reliefs. If one is to go by the representations of the *tympanum* and cymbals (VI, 1), as well as of the Phrygian flute (VI, 4, 6), the syncretism must have also included the Phrygian cult of the Mother of Gods and Attis or that of Atagartis. The representation of the fish (VI, 2) suggests that apotropaic Artemis is linked here with Atagartis, whose worship by

the Thracians is evinced both by ancient tradition and by the inscription to the Syrian goddess (VII, 2). If we accept as satisfactorily certain the symbol of Sol and Luna on the torque of the third apotropaic Artemis (VI, 3), then these aniconic representations of Sol and Luna underscore the mystery and cosmocratic nature of Anatolian Artemis. As has already been indicated, the gesture of the hands placed on the breast (VI, 5) betrays the influence of Iranian Anahita, who became popular in Asia Minor and was fused there with the Mother of Gods under the name of Anāitis. The presence of this syncretic cult in the area under consideration is also confirmed by the unique spread of the *dumi* and the *dumopireti* (see under II, B, 5). The last plaque examined here (VI, 7) is associated with the diffusion of the ancient cult of the Cappadocian Mâ popularized throughout the Roman empire by the troops; this diffusion is again ascribed to an assimilation with Artemis.

And so the seven goddesses of the Razgrad bronze plaques reveal various degrees of fusion between the Great Mother Goddesses during the Roman era; their assimilation was the result of the powerful process of syncretism to be observed at that time, as well as of the diffusion of the eastern mystery cults. The plaques were destined for use in cult rituals by the troops in the Roman garrisons along the limes. If one is to go by the fact that some of the relics belong to the category of grave goods (VI, 8, 9), as well as by the presence of rosettes on the relics under consideration (and also on a number of plaques from among the rest of the Razgrad finds) and their parallels, in combination with the apotropaic gesture, then it could be assumed with certainty that some of them were pre-eminently destined for funeral rites. The iconographic particularities and the identification of syncretic phenomena suggest strong eastern influences, which could be explained by the presence along the limes of troops recruited from the East. The presence of these phenomena in Thracian parallel monuments should therefore be explained by the penetration of influences through the agency of Thracian soldiers or colonized veterans of eastern origin in the Thracian interior.

VII. DEA SYRIA

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments (VII, 1-2)

1. Bizone.

Plate LXXXVI

Marble slab, chipped on both sides. Measurements: height 0.08 m, width 0.28 m, thickness 0.18 m.

At the museum in Kavarna.

Mihailov, *IGB* I², 8 bis.

[Θεῶ Σ]υρίᾱ Παπας καὶ Ἀπ[ολλ---]

[---]ύπέρ τῶν ἰδίων-----]

For the name of Παπας see Zgusta, 1199-1.

2. Philippopolis (the shrine of Apollo Cendrysenos on the Hill of Youth).

Plate LXXXVI

Limestone altar. Measurements: height 0.32 m, width 0.18 m, depth 0.18 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 2617.

Mihailov, *IGB* III, 918.

Ἀπόλλωνι

Κενδρισῶ Βειθυς

Κοτυος ἱερεὺς

Συρίας θεᾶς

5 δῶρον ἀνέ-

θηκεν.

See Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 66, 258, about the Thracian names of the high priest.

B. Interpretation

Dea Syria, or Atargatis as she was otherwise called, was a Syrian goddess and the consort of Hadad. The worship of their cult in general and of Atargatis in particular was centred during the Hellenistic age at Hierapolis, Manbog, Damascus and Baalbek in Syria. In the 3rd century BC, the cult and that of Atargatis in particular penetrated Egypt, and in the following century, Delos and other Aegean islands through the intermediary of Syrians from Hierapolis.¹ During the Roman age, the cult of the Syrian goddess penetrated

the Thracian lands in the Balkan peninsula through the intermediary of the troops; it is attested by Syrian inscriptions also in Dacia, where the goddess appeared as the consort of Jupiter Dolichenus.² The two inscriptions testify to the diffusion of the cult in Roman times but it is not impossible that the worship of Atargatis should have penetrated as early as the preceding age among the Thracians via the Aegean, if one has in mind the observations of Kazarov on the appearance of one of the goddess' most characteristic symbols, the fish, which may be seen on Thracian monuments of the pre-Roman age. Since both relics under consideration here do not carry representations of the goddess' likeness, it is therefore rather hazardous to make conjectures in what connection the Thracian high priest of the Syrian goddess (VII, 2) made an offering at the Thracian sanctuary of Apollo. It is not to be ruled out that this goddess should have been revered as a hypostasis of Artemis. In his treatise on the Syrian goddess, Lucian also mentions Syrian Artemis, while in a Latin inscription one also reads Diana Syra (CIL IX 4137). An association is also possible with the city goddess of Philippopolis since Atargatis has been described as *πολιοῦχος* by Lucian, and has been represented with a turreted crown in Dura and Hierapolis.³

VIII. THE HOLY AND THE RIGHTEOUS GODS (ΘΕΟΙ ΟΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ)

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments (VIII, 1-2)

1. Anchialus.

Marble altar. Measurements: height 0.18 m, width 0.15 m, depth 0.11 m.
At the museum of history in Bourgas, No 1446.

Mihailov, *IGB* I², 372 bis.

[Θ]εοῖ[ς]

Ὅσιω

καὶ Δικαί-

ω Ἀταλά-

5 τη εὐχα-

ριστήρι-

ον.

The name of the female dedicator Ἀταλάτη = Ἀταλάντη was changed in keeping with phonetic phenomena in the inscriptions from the Thracian lands (see Mihailov).

2. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Plate LXXXVII

Marble base, built into the altar of a church in the village of Paskalevets, Veliko Turnovo district. Measurements: height 0.92 m, width 0.66 m.

Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, 512; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 680.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Θεοῖς Ὅσιω καὶ Δικαί-

ωι κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν ὁ-

νείρου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ

5 δῆμος Οὐλπ(ίας) Νεικοπό-

λεως τῆς πρὸς Ἰστρου

τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν

ἐπὶ συναρχ(ίας) Φήλεικος Μουχα-

πορεος.

The formula κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ὀνείρου makes plain that the dedication was made on divine behest received in a dream.¹

End of the 2nd century AD, according to Gerov.

B. Interpretation

These two inscriptions reiterate the possibility of the appearance in the Thracian lands of religious phenomena which have so far been attested exclusively in their Anatolian area of diffusion.² Because, as far as I know, dedications to Θεός Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος or Θεῶν Ὅσιον καὶ Δίκαιον or only to Ὅσιος (καὶ) Δίκαιος have been discovered up to now only in Phrygia, the north-eastern parts of Lydia and in Mysia, and have been discussed by L. Robert and G. Petzl.³ From the preliminary notes of L. Robert one may see that in his opinion, this cult testified to a 'powerful, original and complex religious movement in Phrygia and the contiguous areas among the pagan and the Christian (both Orthodox and Montanist) population.' Quite often this deity appears as the companion of some local high god, such as Apollo or Helios. It is represented more often than not as a horseman, not infrequently brandishing a double axe or wearing a radiate crown, and this suggests not only affinity but also assimilation with these gods. There are dedications under the still puzzling representation of two hands with the palms facing front, and these, according to the text, have been set up for the good health and safety of the dedicators.⁴ A statuette of a male figure from Lydia with a caduceus and a dedication to Θεῶν Ὅσιον καὶ Δίκαιον gives ground for a number of other assumptions as well.⁵

Dedications to more than one holy and righteous gods, to which our two dedications are referred as well, occur rarely. I will only mention the Phrygian altar with a dedication to Θεοῖς Ὅσίοις καὶ [Δ]ικαίοις, carrying representations in relief on all four sides: a horseman with a double axe, next to whom is a tree with a snake; a goddess with a veil on her head and a pair of scales in one hand, encircled by garlands which end in ivy leaves; another goddess with a *cornucopia* and a cluster of grapes in her hands; a male deity which has been likened to Asclepius. It is accepted that the mounted deity was the Thracian horseman, while the rest were hypostases of divine justice and benediction.⁶

The details and opinions indicated so far can only give or rather circumscribe the direction of research into our inscriptions, which obviously mention two male deities Θεοὶ Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιοις (given of course the condition that this presentation of the problem is not the result of lack of adequate information about the cult). This is the reason why I would not venture to set forth a definite assumption, but would rather limit myself to indicating certain characteristic features of the religious life and the population of the two settlements where the inscriptions were discovered.

The inscription from Anchialus testifies, in addition to the dedication to Zeus Hypsistos (*IGB* I² 371), also to such cult practices as were similar to the Anatolian ones.⁷ This similarity becomes all the more tangible owing to the importance of the Apollo cult in the two areas.⁸ I would like to point out in

this connection that though there is no epigraphic evidence on Anatolian inhabitants in Anchialus, such may be surmised in view of the enhanced importance of the city in the age of the Antonines. Anchialus was the only city which was granted the status of colony under Trajan; it was also given preference, because of its geographic position, before all other Pontic ports in the supply by sea of the Roman garrison in the Balkans. These circumstances, as well as the production of salt, could explain the temporary residence of Anatolian merchants.

The permanent presence of Anatolians at Nicopolis ad Istrum is epigraphically attested and indicated many times by historiographers, so I shall not dwell anew on this point. It is quite probable that the numerous Anatolian colony there, as well as its unquestionable importance in the city's economic and public life, were the reason for the dedication to Θεοῖς Ὁσίῳ καὶ Δικαίῳ on behalf of the city council and the inhabitants. If one is to go by the soteriological nature of Θεὸς Ὁσίος καὶ Δίκαιος indicated above, it could be surmised that it is with this cult that the dedication to Θεοῖς σωτηρίῳ is also linked (*JGB* II, 684). If at Anchialus it may be surmised that the dedication hints at Apollo at least, then here the presence of the syncretic Zeus-Helios-Sabazios, as well as of the Anatolian triad and the collegium of hymnodoi, suggests a higher stage of religious syncretism and confirms the above quoted opinion of L. Robert on the nature of the cult of the holy and righteous god. What is more, the fact that the practice of incubation has been attested not only in the inscription under review, but also in the dedication to Zeus Ceraunios and the Mother of Gods (*JGB* II, 669, 682) obviously reaffirm the complexity of the cult as maintained by L. Robert.

IX. THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD IN ITS ANATOLIAN VARIANT (IX, 1-2)

1. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Plate LXXXVIII

Limestone altar. Measurements: height 0.71 m, width 0.54 m, depth 0.53 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 596.

Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 231, No 590; Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, No 492; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 667.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἡραὶ Ζυγίᾳ

καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι Λουκᾶς

Ζένωνος Νεικαιεὺς καὶ

5 Νεικοπολείτης ὑμνοδοῖς

φιλοσεβάστοις τὸν βω-

μὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν.

End of the 2nd century, according to Gerov.

In G. Seure's view,¹ the Capitoline triad is of an Asian aspect in this inscription and he links it with a Pergamos cult, but this assumption is not accepted by Y. Todorov. It is quite probable though, when one has in mind the Anatolian origin of the inscription's dedicator, as well as the attested collegium of hymnodoi of the official Imperial cult.²

2. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

Plate LXXXVIII

Limestone altar. Measurements: height 0.78 m, width 0.52 m, depth 0.52 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 597.

Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 231, No 591; Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, 491; Mihailov, *IGB* II, 668.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ (*sic*) κα[ῖ]

Ἡρᾶ Ζυγείᾳ Δι.Κλα-

ύδει < εἰ > ς Νεικαιεὺς

5 ὑμνοδοῖς ἱερο-

νεύα(ι)ς καὶ φιλοσε-

βάστοις ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-

ων ἀνέστησ(α)ι.

End of the 2nd century, according to Gerov.

X. PRIAPUS

A. Catalogue with Commentary on the Monuments (X, 1-15)

MOESIA INFERIOR

1. Montana.

Bronze statuette.

Private property, according to the publisher. Now lost (?).

I. Velkov in *IAI* 14, 1940-42, 271, fig. 368.

The representation is that of ithyphallic Priapus, with a long beard and thick unruly hair. He wears a kalathos and a wreath of ivy leaves. His long garment envelops him on both sides and he is holding a basket of fruit in front of him.

2. Novae.

Terracotta statuette made of impure clay of gray colour in two moulds. The left arm at the shoulder and the phallus had been broken off. Height 0.11 m.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 1890.

Ts. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, Goranka Toncheva. *Antichni terakoti ot Bulgaria*, Sofia 1971, 82, No 117.

A standing Priapus with a beard is depicted with his legs apart, the right foot pushed forward. In his right hand he held an object, now missing. The disproportionate limbs and the short stocky body underline his ugliness. In the publishers' view, the statuette was locally made in the 2nd-3rd century.

The head is topped by a small loop for hanging.

3. Odessos.

Plate LXXXIX

Terracotta statuette made of good quality reddish clay in two moulds; rough modelling of the back. Height 0.095 m.

At the archaeological museum in Varna, No II 3184.

Mirchev in *IVAD* 10, 1956, 14, Pl. XVIII, 78; Ts. Dremsizova-Nelchinova, G. Toncheva, *o.c.*, 86, No 125.

Priapus is depicted standing, with a long beard, and in an ithyphallic pose. He wears a himation which covers his head and hangs loosely on both sides of the body. With both hands and his phallus he is supporting fruits in front of his belly.

The workmanship is rough and sloppy and is referred by the publishers to the 4th century AD.

4. Callatis.

Fragment of a marble statuette, 0.50 m high.

At the museum of Callatis, No 75.

Bordenache in *Dacia* 4, 1960, 509, No 18, fig. 21a, b.

Priapus is represented seated. He is bearded, has a big head and nose and enormous ears. He wears a long, long-sleeved chiton held up in front and filled with fruit. On either side is an Eros represented as funeral genii, which symbolize Priapus' link with Aphrodite. Bordenache points to the decidedly human touch in the representation and views it as the image of an agriculturalist displaying diffidently the fruit of the soil he had tilled. The rough workmanship adhering to the Hellenistic manner of characterization, gives her ground to refer the relic without too much certainty to the 4th-3rd century BC.

5. Callatis.

Terracotta statuette, 0.08 m high.

The Severeanu collection in Bucharest.

V. Canarache, *Masken und Tanagra-Figuren aus Werkstätten von Callatis*, Konstanz 1969, 70, fig. 53.

Priapus is depicted in an ithyphallic pose, seated, naked, his hands on his belly. The head is bald and he has big animal-like ears and a beard. The thin lips are pursed in an ambiguous smile.

The Hellenistic age.

6. Callatis.

Fragment of a terracotta statuette, 0.105 m high.

The Severeanu collection in Bucharest.

Severeanu in *Buletinul societății numismatice române* XX, 1925, Pl. 53-54, 19, No 3, fig. 3; Canarache, *Masken und Tanagra-Figuren*, 70, fig. 54.

Priapus is shown standing naked, with his chest thrown out. His beard reaches down to his breast and his head is crowned by a wreath of flowers and greenery. With hands on hips, he supports his belly. In Severeanu's opinion, the workmanship is Greek from the beginning of our era.

7. Callatis.

Bronze statuette, 0.09 m high.

The Severeanu collection in Bucharest.

Severeanu, *o.c.*, 18, No 1, fig. 1.

Priapus is depicted standing, wearing a Phrygian cap and a peplum which he is holding up with both hands and which is filled with fruit and flowers suggesting the god's characteristic aspect. Rough and primitive local workmanship.

8. Callatis.

Terracotta figurine, 0.09 m high.

The Severeanu collection in Bucharest.

Severeanu, *o.c.*, 18-19, No 2, fig. 2.

The representation is that of Priapus with a long pointed beard. With his left hand he is lifting up his garment under which his phallus is to be seen. His right hand is placed on the breast, below the beard. In Severeanu's opinion, the relic may be referred to the 3rd century AD.

9. Tomi.

Plate LXXXIX

Lower part of a marble statuette, 0.21 m high.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 17671.

Covaceff, *Monumente sculpturale inedite din Muzeul de arheologie Constanța in Pontica* III, 1970, 227, No 3, fig. 3, 4.

An ithyphallic Priapus in a long oriental garment and boots is depicted on a semi-circular pedestal.

10. Tomi.

Plate XC

Marble basrelief in the shape of an *aedicula* and with a dedication. Measurements: height 0.47 m, width 0.37 m, depth 0.07 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 2014.

V. Canarache et al. in *AAPh, Studia archaeologica*, 136, No 5, fig. 6.

In the centre is a standing Dionysos with a kantharos and a sceptre in his hands; he is flanked by a satyr and Pan, depicted with a basket of fruit on his head. To the right of Dionysos is an ithyphallic Priapus on a circular altar. Above and below the relief is the following inscription:

Διονύσω, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, Καθηγεμόνει.
Ἀκυλείνος Ἀρτεμιδώρου κατε-
χῆν εὐτυχῶς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ.

The relief came to light together with the famous hoard of relics in Tomi, all of them referred to the 2nd-3rd century.

11. Aegissus - Tulcea.

Limestone altar with a relief, 1 m high.
 From the collection of M. Istrati-Capșa.

Tudor in *Analele Dobrogei* 16, 1935, 28-29, No 18, fig. 6.

The relief features an ithyphallic Priapus (0.40 m high) with a beard and round hat. He is dressed in a tunic held up in front and filled with a heap of fruit. On either side of his head is a cluster of grapes which Tudor believes to have provided a link with Dionysos' cult in the age of syncretism.

12. Provenance unknown.

Fragment of a marble statuette, 0.24 m high.
 At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 970.

Bordenache, *Sculture*, 67, No 123, Pl. LIV.

From the preserved fragment one may see that the representation is that of an ithyphallic Priapus, dressed in a long oriental garment held up in front and filled with fruit. In Bordenache's view, this is a replica made in the Antonine period of the iconographic type of Priapus created during the Hellenistic age.

13. Callatis.

Terracotta figurine, 0.21 m high.
 The Severeanu collection in Bucharest.

Severeanu, *o.c.*, 19, No 4, fig. 4; V. Canarache, *o.c.*, 72, fig. 57.

This is a representation of Pan, seated on a rock, his legs crossed, wrapped in a fur garment. His face is that of an adult man with a beard and horns on his forehead. In his right hand he is holding a *syrix*, and in the left one, the horn of plenty. His coarse, lascivious appearance suggested by the phallus, gives Severeanu ground to assume a close resemblance between Pan and Priapus in this relic of the Roman era.

14. Provenance unknown (Tomi ?).

Badly damaged fragment of a marble head, 0.23 m high.
 At the National Archaeological Museum in Bucharest, No L 1323.

Bordenache, *Sculture*, 67, No 122, Pl. LIII.

According to Bordenache, the iconography and stylistic particularities of the head let it be assumed that it belonged to a statuette of Priapus, a replica of the so called Dionysos of Herculaneum. She refers it to the first half of the 2nd century.

THRACIA

15. Village of Zlatovruh, Assenovgrad county (the territory of **Philippopolis**).

Bronze statuette, 0.45 m high.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia.

Reinach in *RA* 1897, II, 234, No 38, fig. 38; Seure in *RA* 1922, I, 76, No 103.

The representation is that of a bald Priapus with a long pointed beard. With both hands he is holding up his chiton filled with fruit.

B. Interpretation

The cult of Priapus, the agriculturalists' god of fertility and fecundity, had a very limited diffusion in Moesia Inferior and Thracia, and this may be explained by the presence of important local agriculturalists' cults. It had penetrated as early as the Hellenistic age in Callatis where terracotta statuettes of Priapus were made as early as the 4th-2nd century (X, 4, 5). This penetration Severeanu explains by the nature of the city's economy based on the production of and trade in grain and cattle, as well as by the trade links with Parion, Cyzicus and Priapus.¹ Monuments to Priapus—bronze, marble and terracotta figurines of the Roman period have been discovered not only at Callatis, but also at Novae, Odessos, Tomi (Moesia Inferior) and the territory of Philippopolis (Thracia). The likeness of Priapus appears on coins from Callatis minted in the reign of Commodus,² from Nicopolis ad Istrum minted under Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Elagabalus,³ from Marcianopolis under Septimius Severus.⁴ Pick explains these coin issues with the presence of Anatolian settlers in the cities.

As to iconography, the sculpted representations of Priapus rarely show deviations from the conventional type created during the Hellenistic age: standing (or seated) ithyphallic figure of an adult bearded man wearing a long oriental garment (and boots) held up in front and filled with fruit and greenery (X, 1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 15). Priapus' association with fertility is also emphasized by his ithyphallic representation and by the fruit, greenery and wheatears, which are sometimes depicted crowning his head⁵ or next to him. A number of monuments attest the connection between Priapus and Aphrodite (X, 4, a coin from Callatis) and Dionysos (X, 1, 10, 11) as their son. The introduction of the deity in the thiasos of Dionysos enhanced the diffusion of its cult among the local Thracian population and its syncretism with Pan (X, 13); we see this syncretic image, for instance, in a monument from Callatis to the Mother of Gods and the Thracian Horseman (II, 39); in this syncretic image Priapus has replaced the female figure in the monuments to the Thracian Horseman from Odessos.⁶

In addition to Severeanu's view on the cult's diffusion, one could surmise another reason for that and this is the fact that Priapus was revered in this coastal city because he was a protector deity of sailing and fishing and these aspects of his are made plain by his iconography and the epigraphic relics as well. What is more, ancient tradition identifies him also with Eros, Atlas, Agathos Daimon, Helios. In an inscription from Dacia he is Pantheos, and in an inscription from Tivoli (end of the 1st-beginning of the 2nd century) he is *auctor orbis aut physis ipsa Panque*.⁷

XI. GLYCON. THE MONUMENT FROM TOMI

1. Tomi.

Plate XCI

Marble representation of a snake on a circular pedestal; height 0.66 m, diameter of the pedestal 0.56 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 2003.

V. Canarache et al., *Le dépôt des monuments sculpturaux à Constanța*, 138, No 23, fig. 24; Bordenache in *StCl.*, 12, 1970, 135 ff., fig. 1.

This likeness of a snake combines a number of features which transform it into a fantastic beast—the body of a snake, whose head has the muffle of a mammal (sheep?), big human ears and hair which hangs down in big tufts; the tail ends as in mammals (with a tuft of hairs). In the first publication this representation was identified with Agathos Daimon. Other opinions were put forward—about a dragon, the snake of Asclepius, the Hellenistic (!) snake-god Glycon.¹ It was Bordenache who arrived at an identification with the cult of Glycon made popular by Alexander of Abunotychos, by adducing information from the text of Lucian of Samosata (Ἀλέξανδρος ἡ ψευδόμαντις). This cult originated among the lower social strata in Paphlagonia and was later adopted by high society in Rome and the companions and followers of Marcus Aurelius under the influence of the skilful impostor Alexander. Lucian describes the pompous, three-day long mysteries of the cult. He relates that during the plague epidemic in 166 AD, Alexander's formulae were inscribed on houses and were believed to secure escape from the pestilence. Again to his influence over Marcus Aurelius is ascribed the sacrifice by the Danube of two lions during the Pannonian war. After Alexander's death, a cult was set up linking him with the snake Glycon. The Latin inscriptions discovered in Moesia Superior and Dacia, as well as the representation of Glycon on coins² attest to the spread of the cult in the regions along the Danube. The marble likeness from Tomi is so far the only sculpted representation of Glycon executed by a first-rate sculptor most probably at Tomi. In Bordenache's view, it suggests the presence of a public cult in that city.

XII. MÊN

A. Catalogue of the Monuments (XII, 1-3)

1. Tomi.

Plate XCII

Marble sarcophagus, one of whose longitudinal sides carries the representation of a *tabula ansata* without a text; it is framed by symbolic images in relief. Measurements: height 2.40 m (including the lid), length 2.70 m, width 1.48 m.

At the archaeological museum in Constanța, No 5734.

Coliu in *Istros* I, 1934, 81 ff., fig. 1-11; J. et L. Robert in *Bull. ép.* 1964, No 301; E. Lane, *CMRDM* III, p. 93 ff.

The architectonics of this interesting and unique sarcophagus, as well as the stylistic particularities of its decoration in relief have given grounds to E. Coliu to define it as Greek with a strong Lycian influence and to refer it to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

The lid is decorated with *acroteria*, while each pediment of the lateral sides features a Medusa. The *tabula ansata* on one of the sides has a complicated profiled border, while its two triangles are decorated with a rosette and a spiral-shaped ornament, which begins on either side of the rosette and fills the acute angles of the triangle. The symbolic images are on both sides of the *tabula*. At bottom left is an instrument—a pair of pincers the shape of which is not known from other similar representations. The shape, as well as the smallness of the jaws, give ground to the publisher to define it as an instrument of little practical value and as one destined in all likelihood for cult purposes. Above the left-hand end of the pincers is a vertical representation of an object with snake-like coils which Coliu describes as a lash and which bears no resemblance to the so far known representations (*flagellum*, *flagrum*), nor does it have any close parallel among the ancient relics. Between the lash and the *tabula* is a bell, the cylindrical shape of which, slightly rounded at the top, occurs very rarely. The vertically depicted bell has a handle which is ornamented with something recalling a pine cone. It is executed very carefully as to detail.

At top right of the *tabula* are a pair of balanced scales. Very much like the lash, they are represented hanging from a small nail. Below the scales is a realistically portrayed *bucranium*; according to the author, its symbolic meaning may be gleaned only from the representation of the sacred band on the forehead and the unrealistically depicted eyes—of an oval shape, set vertically and rather low. Below these two representations is to be seen a horizon-

tally laid axe of the dolabra type used by the Roman soldiers, but also seen on representations of sacrifices where it replaced the axe (*securis*) appropriate for the occasion. The last symbol depicted at the bottom is a lance (*lancea*). Its iron tip takes up almost a third of the entire length and, together with the metal spurs at the base, it looks more like the bud of a lily with two open petals.

Coliu sees here again all the symbols depicted on the well-known syncretic relief of Mên σωτήρ καὶ πλουτοδότης (*CMRDM* I, 142) and on the Sabazios relief at Copenhagen, in which Sabazios is shown in syncretism with Mên, very much like on other monuments as well. This gives him ground to include the sarcophagus among the relics of the cult of Mên, though the fundamental attribute of the god—the crescent, as well as other symbols often associated with him, like the caduceus (or the thyrsos) and the cone pine—are missing from among the symbols here.

J. and L. Robert do not accept Coliu's interpretation and think that the symbols depicted here are those of the agoranomoi. I suppose that E. Lane is of the same opinion, since the monuments is not mentioned in *CMRDM*.

2. Histria.

Fragment of a marble slab, 0.30 m high.

At the museum of Histria.

Bordenache in *Dacia* 5, 1961, 209, fig. 25.

Parts of the representations of a lash, scales and pincers (?) are to be seen on the slab. According to Bordenache, these are the symbols depicted on the sarcophagus from Tomi and she assumes that the slab attests to the existence of a cult of Mên in the city.

3. Serdica. = II, 101.

Marble slab of which only the right-hand half has been preserved in two fragments; it has a Latin inscription in a *tabula ansata*; on the back, a Greek text was inscribed at a later date.

At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, No 3965.

Filov in *MSb* 22/23, 1, 1906/7, 1 ff.; idem in *Klio* 9, 1909, 253; Walter in *AM* 35, 1910, 139, fig. 1-2; R. Cagnat, M. Besnier in *RA* 1908, I, 327, No 37; Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1925; Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* III, 197, 232, No 71; Lane, *CMRDM* I, No D 3.

This is the relic reviewed in the section on the Mother of Gods, II, 101. The reading of the Latin text on lines 9-10 [et Atti Menoty]ranno was made by Walter and accepted by Mihailov and Lane. I am rather inclined to accept the assumption of Filov, followed by Gerov, that the restored name of Tyrannos was a proper name.

B. *Interpretation*

According to the author of the most recent and complete research of the monuments to the Mên cult, this god was no local Anatolian deity, as has been accepted by some researchers. In Lane's view, Mên's fundamental aspect was Persian, if one is to go by his association with Anahita, by the iconographic similarity with the Persian moon-spirit Mao (with which name the author links that of Mên), by the significance of the bull in the cult's iconography, as well as by his function of an oath-god to the Pontic kings, who claimed Iranian origins. The cult spread in Asia Minor where it took on an affinity to a number of local gods, Attis in particular.¹ Its adoption by the Roman legionaries, according to the same research, was of a very small degree—only two monuments have come to light from the limes, more precisely from Dacia.² The small-scale spread of the cult in the two provinces, attested by isolated finds from Tomi and Histria, may obviously be explained only by the presence of settlers of Anatolian origin. This is made evident, above all, by the nature of the monument from Tomi. The Lycian influence on the architectonics of the sarcophagus is likewise reaffirmed by its association with the funeral cult, an association which points also to the Lydian-Lycaonian monuments of Mên.³ Mên displays close links with Sarapis in monuments from Attica and Delos where he was overshadowed by the strong Egyptian cult. It is possible that our monument indicates a similar link between the two cults in Tomi where a strong spread of the Egyptian cults has been attested.

As far as I know, Mên appears solely on coins from Hadrianopolis, where the preferred iconographic variant is that of a mounted god, similarly to the coin issues from Apameia, Hydrela, Juliopolis and elsewhere.⁴

NOTES

I. THE CULT OF SARAPIS AND ISIS

¹ W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (EPRO 32), Leiden 1973, 368 ss.

² Ibidem, 85, n. 3, Abb. 211.

³ Ibidem, 281, n. 4—Fransentyp aus Severerzeit.

⁴ E. Schoenert, *Die Münzprägung von Perinthos*, Berlin 1965, No 259, Taf. 12.

⁵ Robert in *Hellenica* X, 1955, 27, n. 2.

⁶ In actual fact, Isis and Sarapis personify here the sun and the moon, which brought light to the world and dispelled the darkness of savagery and barbarity. In connection with this sundial, it would be appropriate to point to a dedication to the Egyptian deities on a sundial from Delos from the 1st century BC, see P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du IV au I s. av. J.-C.*, Paris-Nancy 1916, No 173. Four other sundials have been found in the Dobroudja where this particular relic came to light, see C. Jonescu-Cârligel, *Cadrane solare grecești și romane în Dobrogea în Pontice* II, 1969, 199 ff.

⁷ L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1970, 37, n. 41, indicates that the annual election of a high priest was a typical Greek phenomenon; because of this practice, the high priests very often had no deep commitment to the particular deity and felt more like appointed officials.

⁸ Here and further on, such earlier authors like Drexler, Salač or Lafaye have not been quoted. At places, bibliographical data from the recent literature prior to Vidman's corpus has been indicated, which is actually unnecessary, but facilitates the app. criticus.

⁹ In fact Harpocrates-Horus appears on the Delian inscriptions after 127-126 BC some 37 times in conjunction with the Sarapis-Isis-Anubis triad. From 140-139 BC an inscription from the same place is known in which he is indicated by his Greek name of Apollo. The dedication to four deities is, according to Vidman, a typically Greek phenomenon which is absent in the inscriptions in Latin, see *o.c.*, 15-16.

¹⁰ It is important to note here that the earliest epigraphic information about the Egyptian cults in Rome (after Augustus' ban on them) comes from an inscription from the reign of Claudius, of 51 AD (Vidman, No 402). The dedications up to the end of the century are not at all numerous, which is partly due to the absence of precisely dated inscriptions.

¹¹ Fr. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* I-III (EPRO 26), Leiden 1973, vol. II, 183, n. 4.

¹² Cagnat, *IGRR* I, No 160 from the reign of Marcus Aurelius; L. Robert in *Annuaire du Collège de France* LXII, 1961/1962, 343.

¹³ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 12, is of the opinion that the Greeks have hellenized the Egyptian goddess to such an extent that she was even depicted without her appropriate head-dress.

¹⁴ L. Castiglione in *ZAS* 97, 1971, 30.

¹⁵ A. Stein, *Die römischen Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia*, Sarajevo 1920, 27.

¹⁶ Cf. M. Stancheva, Yu. Furkov in *IBID* 30, 1977, 265.

¹⁷ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 121, in this assertion of his he follows the latest opinion of Manganaro expressed in 1964 in *Arch. class.* XVI.

¹⁸ Castiglione in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XX, 1967, fasc. 2, p. 251 ff. See already M. Guarducci in *Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. Arch.*, XIX, 1942-1943, 306-344.

¹⁹ It is quite possible that to these monuments should be referred the imprint of a foot on a building brick from Novae (Moesia Inferior). See Tacheva, *Pechatite na I Italiiski legion v Svishtovskiya mouzei in Arheologiya* VI, 1964, vol. 1, 46, fig. 12.

²⁰ Here I would also like to refer to the story by Apuleius (*Met.* XI, 17) about the goddess' silver feet which the believers used to kiss in her temple.

²¹ Dunand, *o.c.*, II, 52, 62, 214.

²² L. Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 121, in connection with his above mentioned opinion. In 1979 an announcement referring to this monument was published by B. Gerassimova, *Kum religiyata na iztochnite bozhestva v dolinata na Strouma in Vekove VII*, 1978, vol. 3, 68, fig. 2. She bases her arguments on now outdated literature though more recent one has been available to her. Quite groundlessly, in my opinion, she assumes the existence of a temple to Sarapis and Isis in the locality where the tablet was found.

²³ Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* I, 31, 52, indicates that the boundary line between Macedonia and Thracia crossed the river Strouma north of the settlement which remained in Macedonia since the inscriptions were dated by the Actian era.

²⁴ Gerov, *o.c.*, 53 ff.

²⁵ On the data about these sanctuaries, see the latest in M. Tacheva-Hitova, *Antichnie kultii dolini verhnei i srednei Strumi (Issledovaniya po istoriyu antichnih religii VI)* in *Akti na simpoziuma Spartak*, Sofia, 1981, p. 105-113.

²⁶ Roussel, *o.c.*, No 36.

²⁷ Dunand, *o.c.*, III, 4, 91, n. 1; cf. III, 263.

²⁸ Schönert, *o.c.*, 15, Nos 31-58.

²⁹ About the therapeutai in Delos, see Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 66 ff., and the literature; they appeared there in the earliest inscriptions from the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the second century; in Vidman's opinion, they were not closed societies and were the equivalent of cultores in the Latin inscriptions.

³⁰ Recently Hani in *REG* 83, 1970, 52 ff., has likewise indicated the solar nature of Sarapis which, in his opinion, was due to the local Egyptian and not to the Greek syncretism with Helios.

³¹ I think that the writer may have been influenced here rather strongly by Fraser, *o.c.*, 6 and n. 5 and 9. The latter inaccurately bases his arguments on, for example, Roussel that there were no dedications to Harpocrates in Delos.

³² W. Pape, *Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* I-II, Braunschweig 1914, 136 s.v. *μεράρχης*; Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. *μεράρχης*.

³³ B. Lenk in *RE* IV A, kol. 448 s.v. Thrake.

³⁴ J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire* I, Paris 1955, 30.

³⁵ Mihailov, *IGB* I², p. 334.

³⁶ Hoffmann in *WRE* XXI, 1951, kol. 1285 ff.

³⁷ Beaujeu, *o.c.*, 44.

³⁸ Schönert, *o.c.*, No 224-226, Taf. 9.

³⁹ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 86; Dunand, *o.c.* II, 203, offers a different interpretation.

⁴⁰ Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 135-138, 227 ff., Nos 558-567.

⁴¹ Kazarov in *RE*, VI A, 1936, s.v. Thrake (Religion) kol. 533-534.

⁴² Pippidi in *StCl* 6, 1964, 103-118.

⁴³ G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors d'Egypt* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 33), Paris 1884; W. Drexler, *Mythologische Beiträge* I. *Der Cultus des ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern*, Leipzig 1890, 59-89; 97-122.

⁴⁴ H. I. Bell, *Egypt*, Oxford 1948¹, (1966²), 40: "The God was really designed (so to say) for export rather than for internal consumption" (quoted after P. M. Fraser), *Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World* in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, III, Lund 1960, 21; J. E. Stambough, *Sarapis under the early Ptolemies* (EPRO 25), Leiden 1972.

⁴⁵ P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris-Nancy 1915-1916.

⁴⁶ See Fraser, *o.c.*, 21.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 37-38.

⁴⁸ L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin 1969.

⁴⁹ L. Vidman, *Die Isis- und Sarapisverehrung im 3. Jh. u. Z.* in *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt*, Bd. II, *Röm. Reich*, 1965, 389-400; idem, *Träger des Isis und Sarapis Kultes in den römischen Provinzen in Eirene*, 5, 1966, 107-116; idem, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1970.

⁵⁰ Fr. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* I-III (EPRO 26), Leiden 1973.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, II, 71.

⁵² Though there are also errors in the interpretation of individual monuments, *cf.* for instance the claim about the inscription (I, 22) from Histria. Wherever the writer's assumptions have a bearing on the interpretation of the monuments, they have been indicated in the catalogue under the respective monument.

⁵³ Polyb, X, 39, 5-6: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ καλούμενον Ἰεράν, ἐφ' οὗ τόπου φασὶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλχων ἀνακομιδὴν Ἰάσονα θῆσαι πρῶτον τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς· ὃ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ δώδεκα στάδια πρὸς τὸ καταντικρὺ κείμενον Σαραπιεῖον τῆς Θράκης.

⁵⁴ A. Vogliano, *Madinet Madi* = *Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti della missione archeologica d'Egitto della università di Milano nella zona di Madinet Madi*, Milano 1936; Dunand, *o.c.*, I, 100 ff.; Vera F. Vanderlip, *The four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (American Studies in Papyrology 12), Toronto 1972 with bibl.

⁵⁵ Vogliano, *Madinet Madi*, 34-35, tav. XIV I, 20, μητέρα δὴ κληῖζουσι θεῶν καὶ Θρηῖκες ἄνδρες. *Cf.* Vanderlip, 29 for these lines, who gives an interpretation of the syncretism between Isis and the Mother Goddess, with which I do not agree: see I, B, 9.

⁵⁶ Vogliano, *Madinet Madi*, 15, I, 14 = Vanderlip, 27.

⁵⁷ They are indicated in the hymn I, 14-24; *cf.* Dunand, *loco cit.*; Vanderlip, *l.c.*

⁵⁸ Vogliano, *Madinet Madi*—I, 3, 9; II, 27-28.

⁵⁹ D. Popov, *Essence, origine et propagation du culte de la déesse thrace Bendis* in *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 2, 1976 (Ann. litt. de l'Univ. de Besançon, 188), 292 ff.

⁶⁰ Dunand, *o.c.*, I, 100 ff.

⁶¹ Ovid., *Pont.*, I, 51-54: Vidi ego linigeræ numen violasse fatentem Isidis Isiacos ante sedere focos. Alter ob huic similem privatus lumine culpam, clamabat media se meruisse via. For this text, see R. Pettazzioni, *La confessione dei peccati*, II, Bologna 1935, 44 ff.

⁶² B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, T. XI, 1915, No 1380, p. 190 f.; G. Lafaye, *Litanie grecque d'Isis* in *Revue phil.* 40, 1916, 55-108; P. Collart, *L'invocation d'Isis d'après un papyrus d'Oxyrhynchus* in *Revue égypt.*, N.S. I, 1919, 93 ff.

⁶³ See the text in B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, 197, Col. V, vv. 96-97; ἐν Σινώπῃ πολυώνυμον; 101-102: ἐν Θράξῃ [x]ᾶν Δήλῳ πολυώνυμον. In general for the epithet: V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie* (EPRO 27), Leiden 1972, 199 ff.

⁶⁴ Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 324.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, No 692, 698. From the age of the Severi.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, No 505. From the reign of Antoninus Pius.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, No 656. From the reign of Antoninus Pius.

⁶⁸ See Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 505, where these inscriptions are quoted.

⁶⁹ V. Velkov, A. Fol, *Les Thraces en Egypte grégoromaine* in *Studia thracica* IV, Sofia 1977, 106-107; *cf.* M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, I, 1949, 366, 1191 ff.

⁷⁰ A. Fol, *The importance of the inscriptions extra fines provinciarum for the history of Moesia and Thracia (I-III c.A.D.)* in *Acta ant. Hung.* XV, 1967, 377-381.

⁷¹ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 24.

⁷² Fraser, *o.c.*, 6, n. 5.

⁷³ This formula in the dedications from the Hellenistic period included the Ptolemies together with the Egyptian deities, see Fraser, *o.c.*, 17, n. 5.

⁷⁴ For the epithets see M. Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen*, VII, 52 ff.

⁷⁵ If one does not take into account the fragment of a stone statue of Isis (?) from Oescus (I, 3) which was unavailable to me. According to the museum inventory book, this was part of a female torso with a himation tied in the Isis knot on the breast. In actual fact, the find could be a representation of a high priestess of Isis.

⁷⁶ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 6 ff.

⁷⁷ On the Anatolian coins see D. Magie, *Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor on Inscriptions and Coins* in *AJA* 57, 1953, 183 ff.; *cf.* Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, passim; they have indicated that coins were struck in Asia Minor to mark an occasion (the celebration, for instance, of a victory) and did not in some cases relate to the worship of Sarapis in the cities which issued them; or, vice versa, a number of cities in Greece proper and Asia Minor where the spread of the worship has been attested with certainty, did not mint such coins.

⁷⁸ See, for instance, Fr. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* II, Leiden 1973, 199, in spite of the claim in III, 3, that she shares the view of D. Magie on the ques-

tion. Similar overinterpretations in the older literature on the problem will not be quoted in the present study; in the more recent literature this trend is endorsed by some scholars; see, for instance, Robert in *REG* 1954, 109-111, who accepts that the coins testify to the spread of the Egyptian cults in almost all cities of Asia Minor.

⁷⁹ E. Schönert, *Die Münzprägung von Perinthos*, Berlin 1965.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, Nos 31-51; 54, 55, 58, Taf. I-II.

⁸¹ W. Drexler, *Der Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern*, Leipzig 1890, 112.

⁸² *Ibidem*, 115, No 5, a; N. Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti na Balkanskiya polouostrov i monetite na bulgarskite tsare*, Sofia 1912, No 5078.

⁸³ Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, Nos 5183, 5207, 5208.

⁸⁴ Jurukova, *Bizye*, fig. 28.

⁸⁵ Drexler, *o.c.*, 115, 4 e, d—Chnubis (?).

⁸⁶ Philippopolis: Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, Nos 5183, 5207, 5208; Hadrianopolis: Drexler, *o.c.*, 114, 4 a.

⁸⁷ J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, Paris 1955, 333, 344, not. 1.

⁸⁸ Beaujeu, *La religion romaine*, 44; L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1970, 106.

⁸⁹ Beaujeu, *La religion romaine*, 44-45; Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 402.

⁹⁰ Beaujeu, *o.c.*, 48-50; for other arguments see Vidman, *o.c.*, 107-108; *BMC Emp.*, II. Introd. p. XLIX, No 123 t, Pl. XXII, 7; 189₇₈₀; 149.

⁹¹ Beaujeu, *La religion romaine*, 320.

⁹² Sarapis and Isis appear on different types of coins of all Bithynian cities from the reign of Antoninus Pius up to that of Gallienus; Sarapis even appears on the obverse of a coin, the reverse of which features a representation of Isis. An increase in the types of coins with their images has been noted also for the Anatolian city of Tienum, see Magie, *o.c.*, 176, 177, n. 137.

⁹³ Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 366, 690.

⁹⁴ Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 687, 689; I. Tóth, *Marcus Aurelius' Miracle of the Rain and the Egyptian Cults in the Danube Region in Studia Aegyptiaca* (Budapest) II, 1976, 106.

⁹⁵ B. Gerov, *Die Einfälle der Nordvölker in Ostbalkanraum im Lichte der Münzschatzfunde in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin-New York, 1977, II, 117.

⁹⁶ For these events, see E. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*, Paris 1881, 48 ff.; J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine*, 340 ff.

⁹⁷ Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 326, 335, 687, 689, 690.

⁹⁸ J. Réville, *Die Religion zu Rom unter den Severern*, Leipzig 1888, 58 f.; A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, London 1971, 205 ff.

⁹⁹ Pick II, 2736, 2737, 2792 from Tomi; Pick I, 301, 302 from Callatis; 1348-50 from Nicopolis ad Istrum; 595 from Marcianopolis; Drexler, 115, No 4, a from Augusta Traiana; 114, 4, b and 5, a from Hadrianopolis; Ruzicka, *Pautalia*, No 406.

¹⁰⁰ M. Strack, *Die antiken Münzen von Thrakien*, Bd. I, I, Berlin 1912, 207, No 482, Pl. VI, 35. On the obverse of the quasi-autonomous coins of Anchialus, which the same author refers to the beginning of the 3rd century, it is Sarapis that appears, while the reverse features Isis with a situla and sistrum or in her aspect of Pharia.

¹⁰¹ See below in the section on the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, V, B, 6.

¹⁰² According to Hornbostel, *o.c.*, 322 ff., Sarapis in a temple is rare. In addition to the coin issues of Attaleia (Pamphylia), he also indicates that of Marcianopolis (Pick I, 688), but not the rest which are quoted here: Pick II, No 2916, 2917 from Tomi; Pick I, 1528 from Nicopolis ad Istrum.

¹⁰³ Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, Nos 4832, 4894 etc. from Serdica; 5046 from Traianopolis; 2645 from Hadrianopolis; 4070 from Nicopolis ad Nestum; 4290 from Pautalia; Schönert, No 602 etc. from Perinthos; Strack, No 511 from Anchialus; Pick II, No 2263 from Odessos.

¹⁰⁴ Gerov, *o.c.*, 124-125.

¹⁰⁵ Vidman, *SIRIS*, Nos 374, 393, 407, 583, 669, 685, 700, 794.

¹⁰⁶ Roussel, *o.c.*, n. 4; H. Engelmann, *The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis* (EPRO 44), Leiden 1975; cf. I. Tóth, *o.c.*, 107, n. 40.

¹⁰⁷ Pick, No 3046.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, No 3155, Pl. 13, 26; No 3389.

- ¹⁰⁹ Fr. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, 82 ff.; 108 f.; Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 225, n. 3.
- ¹¹⁰ Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 299 and Abb. 184 b, 186 b.
- ¹¹¹ Schönert, *o.c.*, No 782, p. 43; cf. also Ph. Bruneau in *BCH* 98, 1974, 1, 333 ff.
- ¹¹² Pick I, No 1523—Nicomolis ad Istrum (Hades-Sarapis); No 1191—Marcianopolis; No 2403—Odessos. I am not convinced that it is precisely Sarapis who is represented in a temple on the coin issues of Nicopolis ad Istrum under Elagabalus as claimed by Pick I, p. 335 in connection with issues No 1982, 1893.
- ¹¹³ Pick II, Nos 385-404; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 4007 from Mesambria.
- ¹¹⁴ Pick I, Nos 385-404 (in No 386 Sarapis is also featured on the reverse); in the often quoted coins from Odessos with a representation of Gordian III and Sarapis, Pick II, Nos 2325-2374 points out that this was the great god of Odessos (Θεὸς μέγας). For this identification see B. Pick, *Thrakische Münzbilder in JdI* 13, 1899, 1 ff.
- ¹¹⁵ Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 316; cf. also Strack, *o.c.*, 216.
- ¹¹⁶ Gerov, *o.c.*, 127 ff.
- ¹¹⁷ Schönert, *o.c.*, No 860, Pl. 48.
- ¹¹⁸ Pick I, Nos 1207-1216 from Marcianopolis; Pick II, Nos 3590-3616 from Tomi; *BMC The Tauric Chersonese*, 135, No 20, also quoted by Hornbostel, *o.c.*, 316, n. 3 from Mesambria; Pick I, No 348 from Callatis; Jurukova, *Deultum*, No 431; Jurukova, *Bizye*, No 142.
- ¹¹⁹ B. Gerov, *Die Einfälle*, 129 f.
- ¹²⁰ Schönert, *o.c.*, No 896, Pl. 56. A similar phenomenon may be observed also in the coins of Asia Minor, cf. Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 323.
- ¹²¹ Hornbostel, *Sarapis*, 317, n. 5, points out that Hades-Sarapis practically never appears in a temple.
- ¹²² Schönert, *o.c.*, No 31-39; Magie, *o.c.*, 181; Hornbostel, *o.c.*, 315.
- ¹²³ Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 1635 from Odessos; Schönert, Nos 782, 860; Jurukova, *Bizye*, Nos 136-1, 2, 3; 138.
- ¹²⁴ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 32-34.
- ¹²⁵ The collegium of therapeutai is especially typical of the Delian inscriptions, see Vidman, *SIRIS*, 346. The significance of this great religious centre of the Aegean is unquestionable, cf. likewise the inscriptions in Roussel, *o.c.*, passim.
- ¹²⁶ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 33, n. 28.
- ¹²⁷ Mihailov, *IGB* I², 309.
- ¹²⁸ Fraser, *o.c.*, 43 ff.
- ¹²⁹ On the Thracian dedicators, see Roussel, *o.c.*, No 36; p. 230—inscription from 146/5 about somebody called Σεύθης and his son; No 54-55, about an inhabitant of Callatis and his son.
- ¹³⁰ Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 731.
- ¹³¹ The head of Sarapis from Histria (I 27) is not accepted here as certain because of the type of the monument and its uncertain identification.
- ¹³² J. et L. Robert in *Bull. ép.* 1939, No 235.
- ¹³³ See H. Danov, *Iz drevnata ikonomicheska istoriya na Chernomorieto* in *IAI* 12, 1938, 234—an Egyptian *balsamarium* of blue glass; he thinks that the Ptolemies hired Thracian mercenaries. G. Toncheva, *Za eguipetskite fayansovi sudove ot Odessos* in *IAI* 32, 1972, 103 ff.; T. Ivanov, *Trakiiski moguilni pogrebeniya v Odessos i okolnostite mu* in *IVAD* 9, 1952, 117 (alabastroni); M. Mirchev in *IVAD* 8, 195, 116, No 7—model of a lamp, Egyptian import etc.
- ¹³⁴ Pippidi, *Sur la diffusion*, 117.
- ¹³⁵ M. Lazarov, *Amforite i turgoviyata po trakiiski bryag na Ponta (6th-1st century BC)*, Sofia 1976, summary of a dissertation.
- ¹³⁶ Lazarov, *o.c.*, 5-6.
- ¹³⁷ The relief from Nicopolis ad Istrum of the river god Nile could hardly have decorated a temple as is assumed (see I, 5)—the relatively well-known epigraphic heritage of the city offers no testimony of the cult's diffusion. A much damaged inscription has come to light in Marcianopolis; the theophoric name of Σαραπίων may be read in it (Mihailov, *IGB* II, 799). Pick I, 121, had assumed in his time that Sarapis was the high god of Marcianopolis because of his representations on the obverse of the city's coin issues together with those of Gordian III and Philip the Younger, as well as his representation in a tetrastyle temple in numerous issues of Gordian III and Tranquilina.

¹³⁸ CIG 2024—'Ἀλεξανδρεῖς οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Περίνθῳ who erected a statue to Πο. Ἀῖλιος Ἀρποκρατίων ὁ καὶ Πρόκλος.

¹³⁹ Mihailov, *IGB* IV, p. 43, indicates: aedificium, hic templum for ἔργον; cf. also his commentary to *IGB* IV, 2268.

¹⁴⁰ As has already been pointed out, the relief with circus games from the city is not associated with the cult of Sarapis (see under I, 57 and II, 103).

¹⁴¹ About the dating, see B. Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi*, III, 11 (129); cf. G. Mihailov, *La fortification de la Thrace par Antonin le Pieux et Marc Aurèle* in *Studi Urbinati* 36, 1961, No 1-2, 11.

¹⁴² For the latest, see M. Stancheva, Y. Furkov, *Novootkrit ezicheski hram v Serdica* in *IBID* 30, 1977, 265, n. 5.

¹⁴³ In general, see Th. A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 BC)*, (The University of Missouri Studies, X, 1) 1935, quoted by Fraser, I, which unfortunately was unavailable to me.

¹⁴⁴ Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 731; Mihailov, *IGB* I², 116, 135 bis, 340 bis, II 799.

¹⁴⁵ M. N. Tod, *Macedonia VI-Inscriptions* in *BSA* 13, 1918/19, 88.

¹⁴⁶ Mihailov, *IGB* 401₁₅.

¹⁴⁷ Tod, *Loc.cit.*

¹⁴⁸ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 6 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 88. See also H. B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 80), Weissenheim am Glan 1975.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 78 ff. For the nauarches cf. also Ph. Bruneau, *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinités égyptiennes à Érétrie* (EPRO 45), Leiden 1975, 139 f.

¹⁵¹ For Apuleius' story in *Metamorphoses* (XI), see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-Book* (EPRO 39), Leiden 1975; cf. F. Solmsen in *Gnomon* 51, 1979, 549-561.

¹⁵² Dunand, *o.c.*, III, 267.

II. THE CULT OF THE (GREAT) MOTHER OF GODS

¹ See the parallel instances indicated by G. Tsanova, *o.c.*, n. 35-37. See for Attis funéraire also R. Turcan, *Masques corniers d'orientaux* = *Attis, Ganymèdes ou Arimaspes?* in *Mélanges de Philosophie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, Rome 1974, 721-747.

² Cf. Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, 1, 102-103.

³ Zingerle in *Serta Hoffileriana*, 1940, 233-235.

⁴ St. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Glerup-Lund 1946, 219 f.

⁵ Graillot, *Cybèle*, 264 with the quoted literature.

⁶ L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1962, 192, n. 1; Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 458, cf. here the name of a Sabazios priest (III, 20); there is a new reading of the *loc. cit.* in Procopius, see PROCOP., *Opera omnia*, IV, 306, 29.

⁷ See *RE* 17, 1937, kol. 542.

⁸ Graillot, *Cybèle*, 206, n. 2.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 385-386, n. 4; 473; 522 f.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 277.

¹¹ P. Herrmann, *Nordostlydien*, 37, No 25 (non vidi), quoted after G. Petzl, *Vier Inschriften aus Lydien* in *Festschrift Dörner* II, 749, n. 17.

¹² Petzl, *o.c.*, 746 f., No I, 2.

¹³ Wikander, *o.c.*, 219-220.

¹⁴ Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, No 89, Pl. LIXV from the 5th century BC; No 121, Pl. XXXI.

¹⁵ Saveanu is among the few writers on monuments from the two provinces who does not use the name of Cybele in his examination of the Goddess' representations.

¹⁶ Cf. similar representations of the Thracian Horseman, a goddess and a female figure with a basket of fruit on the head from Odessos in Mihailov, *IGB* I², 78 ter, 286 = *CCET* I, 30, 84, 83.

¹⁷ For the Mother Goddess and Hermes cf. also Vermaseren in *Festschrift Dörner* II, 956-966.

¹⁸ E. Will, *Le relief culturel gréco-romaine*, Paris 1955, 429 f.

¹⁹ Stojan, *o.c.*, 166.

²⁰ In the inscriptions (see Thomason, *Moesia, Dacia, Thracia* (Laterculi praesidium), Göteborg 1977, 23-24) Tertullus is attested as Imperial legate in Moesia Inferior for 198 as well, but the publishers' dating remains valid since Caracalla had not yet been proclaimed co-emperor to Septimius Severus in 198.

²¹ Pippidi in *Histria* I, 1954, 533, No 17 = *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias*, 162 f., No 4; 176-177.

²² Σεμνός θεός is called, for instance, Sarapis by Menander; see the reference in Nilsson, *GGrR* II, 120, n. 5.

²³ On p. 501 Graillot has expressed the assumption that the inscription could be an evidence of *taurobolium* for the emperor; this is quite possible if one is to go by the text of the inscription; it seems to me, however, that B. Gerov's opinion is more certain and it has been accepted in this study.

²⁴ For the earliest dated *taurobolia* in Gaul and Italy, see Graillot, *Cybèle*, 167 f., n. 4. Cf. for the *taurobolium* in general R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium. Its Evolution and Terminology* (EPRO 10), Leiden 1969.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 284, n. 5.

²⁶ Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 131, 133.

²⁷ It is interesting to note that the writers date the slab to the middle of the 4th century, while accepting the end of the 4th century AD as the beginning of the early Byzantine period in art in the Thracian lands.

²⁸ This identification is the subject of a forthcoming publication of Ana Balkanska, a colleague of mine from the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, who was kind enough to make her arguments known to me.

²⁹ Graillot, *Cybèle*, 53 and n. 5 on the link between Urania and the Mother of Gods.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 547 f., 168, No 16.

³¹ Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 75 f.

³² Robert, *Les noms indigènes*, 348 and Nos 56, 77, 136, 256; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, No 916; about the patronymic see Robert, *o.c.*, 513, and Zgusta, *o.c.*, No 1199-1.

³³ Zgusta, *op.cit.*, No 66-48.

³⁴ For this interesting monument and the observations on the Anatolian cults of the high goddesses, see G. M. A. Hanfmann, J. C. Waldbaum, *Kybele and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis* in *Archaeology* 22, 1969, No 4, 264 f.

³⁵ It is probable that the three inscriptions should have come from the nearby shrine to mounted Apollo, see Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1397.

³⁶ For similar representations of Attis from Asia Minor see E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler zur Meterverehrung in Bithynien und Mysien* in *Festschrift Dörner* II, 825, No III B 1, Abb. 35, Taf. CXCVII from Cyzicus.

³⁷ After having prepared the manuscript Prof. Vermaseren who is preparing the *CCCA* (vol. VI) points me at some terracotta figurines published by D. I. Lazarides, *Πήλινα ειδώλια Ἀβδηρῶν*, Athens 1960. These figurines, mostly fragmentary, are of the normal type (the goddess is seated on a throne holding a *patera* and a *tympanum*) and they prove that the Cybele cult at Abdera already was known in the 4th century B.C.

³⁸ See, for instance, Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, 21, Pl. XV; 63, Pl. XLV.

³⁹ G. Kazarov, *Prinos kum starata istoriya na Sofia*, Sofia 1910, 67.

⁴⁰ G. Kazarov, *Thrake (Religion)* in *RE* VI A, 1936, kol. 528-29.

⁴¹ Graillot, *Cybèle*, 496.

⁴² Todorov, *Paganizmut*, 155, cf. here II, 4, 5.

⁴³ Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis*; idem, *CCCA* I-IX; idem *Cybele and Attis. The Myth and the Cult*, London, 1976; idem, *Iconografia e iconologia di Attis in Italia* in *Studi Romagnoli* 27, 1976, 47 f.

⁴⁴ Cf. the observation of E. Schwertheim, *Denkmäler zur Meterverehrung in Bithynien und Mysien* in *Festschrift K. Dörner* II, 802.

⁴⁵ The *tympanum* is in the right hand on two monuments from Tomi (II, 45, 64).

⁴⁶ See the arguments under II, 97; cf. V. Canarache, *Masken und Tanagra-Figuren aus Werkstätten von Callatis-Mangalia*, Constanța 1969, 24-25.

⁴⁷ Cf. Will, *Le relief culturel*, 429-430; the latest in Vermaseren in *Festschrift Dörner* II, 960 f.

⁴⁸ Will in *Éléments orientaux*, 98 f.

⁴⁹ Cf. the similar iconography of the same epoch in Asia Minor in Schwertheim, *o.c.*, 794, No I A 3, Abb. 3 from Bithynia; Vermaseren, *CCCA* VII, 99, Pl. LXVIII-LXIX of unknown provenance in the Metropolitan Museum; No 169, Pl. CI of unknown (Thracian?) provenance in Vienna.

⁵⁰ Cf. the reliefs in Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1954 and of an unknown goddess, *ibid.*, No 1282. It is interesting to note that a similar iconography has been described likewise by Schwertheim, *o.c.*, 804, No B 4, fig. 12—he indicates the couple of deities as Zeus and Cybele, while with us the dedication is explicitly regarded as made to Zeus and Hera.

⁵¹ Ramsay in *JHS* 3, 1882, 19; Curtius in *AM* II, 1887, 50; Schwenn, *Kybele* in *RE* XI, 1922, kol. 2281; L. Robert in *Centennial Volume of the American Numismatic Society*, 579, n. 8.

⁵² See a coin from Tomi in Pick II, No 2979.

⁵³ Cf. a similar relief on a slab from Moesia in Schwertheim, *o.c.*, 824, No I B 3, Abb. 32, Taf. CXVI.

⁵⁴ In contrast to them, the snakes are missing from the trees in similar reliefs from Mysia (Asia Minor), while the Goddess is represented in the act of sacrificing.

⁵⁵ See the latest in Mladenova in *Acta Arch Hung* 9, 1958, 365 ff.; about the Mother of Gods as a healer with a similar iconography see Graillot, 206 and n. 8.

⁵⁶ Filov in *RM* XXXII, 1917, 4; Rostovtsev in *IAK* 48-50, 1913.

⁵⁷ Tatscheva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen*, VIII (in the press).

⁵⁸ Graillot, *Cybèle*, 500, Pl. III.

⁵⁹ Very similar is the representation next to Cybele in a Phrygian monument of the 6th century BC in the museum in Ankara.

⁶⁰ The association of the Goddess with Sabazios is quite natural since they both belonged to one and the same religious cycle. If one is to go by the well-known passage from Demosthenes' speech *On the Wreath* (259-260), she was Anatolian but was adopted in Athens as well; as has been indicated, her association with Heracles, Mên and Tyche-Nemesis had an Anatolian basis, while the link with Theos Megas was obviously due to the fusion of local cults with the Anatolian one; the association with the Dionysos Thiasos was an old Aegean phenomenon.

⁶¹ See for Attis and the Mother Goddess in general: Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, passim.

⁶² See Graillot, *o.c.*, 496-498.

⁶³ Maybe some other coin issues from Philippopolis featuring a goddess' head with a turreted crown, or a seated goddess with a patera and a sceptre are likewise associated with the Mother of Gods; see Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 5102 of Antoninus Pius; Nos 5165, 5234, 5235, 5301 of Faustina the Younger, Crispina and Julia Domna.

⁶⁴ Pick I, Nos 512, 517, Pl. XVIII, 14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, No 293 a.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, 13.

⁶⁷ Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 5102.

⁶⁸ Pick II, 2879.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, No 282 and Pl. XVIII, 1.

⁷⁰ Mionnet, *Suppl.* II, 488, No 1679; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 5269; Schönert, *Perinthos*, No 838; Pick II, No 2351; see here note 24 on the coins from Philippopolis.

⁷¹ Pick I, Nos 298, 313, 347; Pick II, Nos 1316, 1554, 1672, 1955; Pick I, 757; Mionnet, *Suppl.* II, 488, No 1679; Ruzicka, *Pautalia*, Nos 41, 168-170, 363, 626; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 3028; Strack, Nos 448, 449 and Moushmov, *o.c.*, No 2819; Jurukova, *Deultum*, No 200; Jurukova, *Bizye*, No 122; Moushmov, *o.c.*, Nos 2552, 2666, 2724; *ibid.*, No 5031.

⁷² Pick I, 340.

⁷³ Graillot, *o.c.*, 141, n. 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 502.

⁷⁵ On the particular legal status of Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis and Byzie, see Pick I, 79, 330 and n. 1.

⁷⁶ On the adoption of the cult in Rome and the religious policy of the emperors in respect to the Mother of Gods, see Graillot, 25 ff.; Beaujeu, 44-45, 194, 271, 312; Réville, 59 ff., followed by Graillot.

⁷⁷ Strack, 418, 419, 422; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 5102.

⁷⁸ Moushmov, *o.c.*, No 3177; Jurukova, *Bizye*, No 27; Moushmov, *o.c.*, No 2515.

⁷⁹ Pick II, 2681.

⁸⁰ Moushmov, *o.c.*, No 2992.

⁸¹ Pick I, No 436.

⁸² See V, B, 4.

⁸³ Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 3028—a tetrastyle temple, in the centre is depicted the Goddess riding on a lion; No 3029—a hexastyle temple, in the centre is depicted the seated Goddess with a lion next to her.

⁸⁴ Pick I, No 1316; *ibid.*, Nos 551, 558, 565, 579, 586, 599.

⁸⁵ Mionnet, *Suppl.* II, 488, No 1679; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, No 5031.

⁸⁶ Ruzicka, *Pautalia*, No 518. In Graillot's view, the representation of the Goddess in a biga on coins has come about under the influence of circus games, see p. 141 and a coin from Pessinus of Lucius Verus on p. 353, n. 1.

⁸⁷ Pick II, Nos 2878, 2879; Pick I, Nos 617, 623, 651, 674; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, Nos 3065, 3101; Strack, No 521; Moushmov, No 2636.

⁸⁸ Pick II, Nos 2874-79, 2964, 3001; Moushmov, *Antichnite moneti*, no 2635.

⁸⁹ Pick I, No 1152.

⁹⁰ Strack, No 623; in a coin issue of Hadrian there is an unidentified male figure next to the Goddess, see Moushmov, No 2724.

⁹¹ See Graillot, 498.

⁹² Pick II, Nos 3604, 3605.

⁹³ See Graillot, 150, n. 1; for earlier coin issues *cf.* again there, 112.

⁹⁴ Of the Younger Faustina in Callatis, Pick I, No 298 (riding on a lion) and Philippopolis (?)—Moushmov, No 5165 (female head with a veil and a turreted crown).

⁹⁵ Of Lucilla in Tomi, Pick II, No 2681, in Anchialus—Strack, No 436.

⁹⁶ Of Crispina in Tomi, Pick II, No 2728.

⁹⁷ Of Julia Domna: Tomi, Pick II, Nos 2795, 2822, 2823; Callatis, Pick I, No 313; Histria, *ibid.*, No 500; Marcianopolis, *ibid.*, No 673 (Julia Domna and Caracalla).

⁹⁸ In Tomi of Plautilla and Ottacilia, Pick II, Nos 2947, 3580.

⁹⁹ Pick II, No 2514.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos 2497, 2529, 2530 (Tyche?), 2500-2502.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Nos 2496, 2501, 2514.

¹⁰² Cf. above a similar phenomenon for the coins of Philippopolis.

¹⁰³ The data on the cult and the cult organizations of the Goddess in this section are after the monograph of Graillot.

¹⁰⁴ Some authors are of the opinion that another inscription from Tomi (Stojan, *Tomitana*, 70, No 3) may be regarded as testifying to a cult collegium of the Mother Goddess because of the dedication *matrem Romanorum subscriptorum*. This assumption lacks conviction and I am of the opinion that a new interpretation of the entire inscription is called for.

¹⁰⁵ Chr. Goudeneau, 'IEPAI TPAΠEZAI in *MEFRA* LXXIX, 1967, 77-133. See for another similar inscription from Thasos P. Roussel in *REG* XXIX, 1916, 181 ff.

¹⁰⁶ See list A in Graillot, 159 ff.

¹⁰⁷ It is quite probable that similar reliefs on tombstones from the Danube provinces, of which it is accepted that they were associated with the cult, may have been such of worshippers who have undergone a taurobolium. See, for instance, the tombstone in Tabakova-Tsanova in *Arheologiya* 11, 1970, 1, 40, No 3; L. Balla et alii, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Budapest 1971, No 102.

¹⁰⁸ See Graillot, *Cybèle*, 233; cf. information on political prophecies in Polyb., XXI, 37, 4; Plut., *Mar.*, 17.

¹⁰⁹ Graillot, *Cybèle*, 163, n. 2; 171.

¹¹⁰ Mihailov, *IGB* I², 77 from Odessos of the first half of the 2nd century AD; Bordenache, *Sculpture*, No 203, Pl. LXXXVIII from Tomi of the 1st century AD dedicated to Heros Manimadzios. On the altar in the monument from Odessos are depicted a sacrificial ram and herma, which provide the link with the monuments to Heros Karabazmos from the earliest shrine of the rider god (see *IGB* I², 78 *ter*, 285, 286 = *CCET* I, 30, 84, 83, from the end of the 1st and the mid-2nd century AD). On their part, the representations of a figure with a basket of fruit on the head in these votive offerings provides the link with the dedications to the Goddess from Callatis (II, 39 in the present study). Of significance is the fact that in some inscriptions Heros Karabazmos is identified with Apollo, see *IGB* I², 79; Pippidi in *St. Cl.* VII, 1965, 327.

¹¹¹ M. Oppermann, *Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung von Gesellschaft und bildender Kunst in den römischen Provinzen Thracia und Moesia Inferior von 1. Jh. bis zur 2. Hälfte des III Jh.* (Manuscript), Halle/Saale 1978, 176.

¹¹² See the above indicated Odessitan monuments in which the dedicators have non-Thracian names only. Some of these reliefs feature also the sacrificial animal (as has previously been indicated) which we also see in one of the series of monuments from Tomi (II, 38) surveyed here; this is a frequent occurrence for the monuments from Mysia (Asia Minor), in contrast to Bithynia, for instance, cf. the observations of Schwertheim, *o.c.*, 834 ff.

¹¹³ Rare and not too close parallel instances may be looked for in some representations on coins from Moesia Inferior (Tomi, Pick II, No 2879) and Asia Minor, see Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, II, col. 1647, fig. 2.

¹¹⁴ It is quite possible for the foreign dedicator 'Απολλωνιδης of non-freedman's origin to have indicated the name of the Goddess, because in the above line of reasoning, the local cult must have been alien to him.

¹¹⁵ Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 63, 65 ff.

¹¹⁶ Robert, *Les noms*, 56, 513; Zgusta, *o.c.*, 916, 1199-1.

¹¹⁷ According to M. Alexandrescu-Vianu of the institute of Balkan Studies in Bucharest, who was kind enough to share with me her observations on some unpublished monuments from

Histria, to be presently printed in *Dacia* 24, 1980: *Les débuts du culte de Cybèle dans les cités pontiques*.

This dating of the initial penetration of the cult is very probable since the iconographic type of the monuments from the cities on the west littoral of the Pontus repeated the one which emerged in Ionian Greece; this Ionian-Anatolian type spread from the 6th century BC onward via the Aegean islands of Rhodes, Chios and Thasos to Siracusa and Massilia. See Will, *Aspects du culte*, 99 ff.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the observations of E. Will, *ibidem*.

¹¹⁹ See Strabo (i, 2, 38) and the information of the Byzantine chroniclers Skylitzes and Malalas about Cyzicus in Graillot, 411; on Byzantium see *ibid.*, 496; about Heracleia Pontica and the Metroon or the holy place of the Goddess by the city there is evidence in the sea voyage of Arrian (Arr., *per.*, p. E. 19 = *GGM* I, 384) also related in the Anonymous sea voyage (An., *per.*, p. E. 12 = *GGM* I, 404) quoted after E. Schwertheim, *o.c.*, 831, n. 3-4. For the chronology of the penetration in Thrace cf. also *supra*, note 35a.

¹²⁰ According to Livy (XXXVII, 9, 8), during the Roman campaign against Antiochus III, the navy was approached at Sestos by the Galli of the Mother of Gods in the besieged city doomed to be captured and burned down. They conveyed the Goddess' behest to conjure the Romans to spare the city. The enemies heeded the Goddess' behest, not venturing to commit sacrilege against her people. The same is imparted by Polybius (XXI, 6, 7).

¹²¹ Schol. ad Lycophr., 78, cf. Tzet., I, p. 367 (Müller); Schol. vet. Marc. ad Lycophr. Alexipharm. 77 (after Graillot, *o.c.*, 499).

¹²² IG 12, 5, 245; Loewy, in *AEM* 11, 1887, 167 ff.; Furtwaengler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, XXVII-XXVIII, p. 4; CXXXVII, p. 4, n. 21 (non vidi); Detschew, *Sprachreste*, p. 6.

¹²³ On the Egyptian cults, cf. the indication in I, B, 5.

¹²⁴ Tačeva-Hitova in V. Velkov, M. Tačeva, *Eléments orientaux méditerranéens en Thrace et Mésie* in *Bulletin AIESEE* XI, 1973, 1-2, 96 ff.

¹²⁵ Cf. likewise other monuments which betray Anatolian influences and which have been indicated in note 22.

¹²⁶ Μητρόδωρος as a personal name or as a patronymic is to be observed on many monuments from Tomi (*CIL* III 14214²¹), Odessos (*IGB* I², 46, 47, 78 *ter*, 127, 106), Mesambria (*ibid.*, Nos 330 *ter*, 335, 339 *ter*, 326), Anchialus (*ibid.*, No 406), Serdica (*IGB* IV, 1906), Philippopolis (*IGB* III, No 1009), etc.; for the Aegean littoral see Graillot, 497.

¹²⁷ About Παπας, a name which occurs often in Thracia and Anatolia as an epithet of Zeus and Attis, see Detschew, *Sprachreste*, 335-336, cf. under Αθυσ, p. 8.

¹²⁸ In the Phrygian legend, Nana was the daughter of Sangarios and mother of Attis. Nana Ishtar was a Syrian goddess and mistress of the mountains, depicted standing on a leopard or a lion and wearing a turreted crown. There is a dedication at the Metroon in Piraeus from the Imperial age to Artemis Nana (*CIA* II 1613 = 131).

¹²⁹ For the spread and meaning of the name Παπας, Ναπας as "Lallnamen", see L. Zgusta, 1199-1; 1013-1; cf. L. Robert, *Les noms indigènes*, 513.

¹³⁰ There is evidence on the significance and symbolism of the *tympalum* in Clement of Alexandria and Firmicus Maternus, cf. Graillot, 180. There are those who are of the opinion that the lion was missing from the monuments to the Goddess in the area under consideration because it did not belong to its fauna. This is difficult to accept since the animal is also to be seen on the reliefs to the Horseman and Mithras. On the other hand, it is also known that lions are likewise absent from the Phrygian monuments to the Goddess, see Reinach, *Statuettes archaïques de Cybèle* in *BCH* 13, 1889, 543.

¹³¹ See Demosthenes (*loc. cit.*); Strabo (X, 3, 16).

¹³² On the Thracian goddess Bendis see the latest in D. Popov, *The Thracian Goddess Bendis*, Leiden 1980 (in the press).

¹³³ Cf. Ognenova-Marinova in *IAI* 22, 1959, 81 ff.

¹³⁴ Detschew in *IAI* 18, 1952, 49.

¹³⁵ Machinskii in *Kultura Vostoka. Drevnost i srednoviekovie*, Leningrad 1978, 142, n. 23.

¹³⁶ If the evidentiary material discovered in the locality of Hilyadnitsa (see I, B, 9) should not be convincing enough, then I suppose that a still unpublished monument would be of help. Here I have in mind a votive tablet with the likeness of Artemis dedicated to Isis by a high priest of hers probably at the big shrine of Artemis near the village of Obedinenie. I owe the information to the kindness of Professor B. Gerov.

¹³⁷ D. Detschew, *Koultut na Artemida v oblastta na Sredna Strouma* in *IAI* 19, 1955, 95 ff.; cf. A. F. Losev, *Antichnaya mifologiya*, 289.

III. THE CULT OF SABAZIOS

- ¹ See under I, 26 in the catalogue on the monuments of the Egyptian cults.
- ² Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, 372, No 267.
- ³ CIL XIII, I, 1946.
- ⁴ Gorbanov in *Arheologiya* 18, 1976, 4, 13-18. The author has not taken into consideration the latest views on the epithets to be found in B. Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi*, III, *GSU FzF* 62, 1968, 2, 190 and Robert, *Hellenica* 7, 46.
- ⁵ Chr. Blinkenberg, *Darstellungen des Sabazios und Denkmäler seines Kultes in Archäologische Studien*, Kopenhagen 1904, 70.
- ⁶ Ethnicon derived from the name of a locality according to D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1976, 27; V. Georgiev, *Die thrakischen Götternamen. Ein Beitrag zur Religion der alten Thraker* in *LB* 18, 1975, I, 21.
- ⁷ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1904, 428.
- ⁸ These acanthus leaves form a belt which resembles closely the girdle of the god in the bronze tablets from Olynthus (Macedonia). See D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* X, 1941, pl. V, 16, fig. 6.
- ⁹ Gorbanov, *o.c.*
- ¹⁰ See Blinkenberg, *o.c.*, 70, B 4, fig. 30 from Brussels, Musée du Cinquenaire, n. 3436, height 0.18 m.
- ¹¹ *Ibidem*, E. 27.
- ¹² See G. I. Kazarov, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes*, Budapest 1938, No 209, Abb. 113, with a dedication to Apollo; a bear in the same pose lying flat on its back with a dog sinking its teeth into it; No 364, Abb. 198, a bear in the same pose attacked by a lioness; No 998, Abb. 482, protome of a bear pouncing at a bull.
- ¹³ Ethnicon derived from a place-name, according to Detschew, *o.c.*, 8; Georgiev, *o.c.*, 20.
- ¹⁴ R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*, Darmstadt 1956 (Fotomechanischer Nachdruck der III Auflage, 1927), 107.
- ¹⁵ Fr. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917. This is also how B. Gerov has accepted it in *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi*, I, *GSU FF* 54, 1959/60, 3, 352, No 92.
- ¹⁶ Schulze, *o.c.*, 426.
- ¹⁷ Gerov, *o.c.*, 314; 362, Nos 165-168.
- ¹⁸ The god is in the same pose in the Copenhagen relief (see Nilsson, *GGR* II, Pl. 13, 2), but the ram's head is beneath the upright leg of the god and that is unexpected and differs from the original Anatolian type, which has been determined by Ernst Will. The god's pose in the Berlin relief (Nilsson, *o.c.*, 659, fig. 4) and that in the relief from Ampurias (Paris in *AA* 1912, 454) is reversed mirror-like.
- ¹⁹ R. Peter in Roscher L., II, s.v. Fortuna, kol. 1536; Dj. Mano-Zissi, *Les trouvailles de Tekija. Musée national, Beograd, Antiquité II*, Beograd 1957, 103; No 37, Pl. XXVI; see the dedication *Iovi Sabazio optimo et Fortunae sanctae* in Dessau, *ILS* 9277.
- ²⁰ E. Will, *Le relief cultuel greco-romain*, Paris 1955, 133 ff.
- ²¹ *Ibidem*, 423 ff.
- ²² The latest in Kolev in *Pulpudeva* I, 1976, 186 ff.
- ²³ Müller in *RM* 44, 1929, 66 ff.
- ²⁴ From Rahovo, Rousse district, see I. Velkov in *GNM* 1922/25, 143 ff., No 1.
- ²⁵ G. Kazarov, *Antichni pametnitsi iz Bulgaria* in *IAI* 11, 1923/24, 79, a, b, c; G. Tabakova, *Svetilište na Apolon Zerdenski pri s. Krun, Starozagorsko* in *IAI* 22, 1959, 104, No 54.
- ²⁶ Tacheva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* II, 239 ff.
- ²⁷ Kazarov, *o.c.*, No 548, Abb. 274-281; No 953, Abb. 461.
- ²⁸ Seure in *REA* 14, 1912, 8 ff.

²⁹ From the Thracian lands have come to light reliefs of an anonymous goddess with her raised arms bent at the elbows. The inscriptions call her 'evil-banishing'; Mladenova in *Arheologiya* 5, 1963, 4, 28 ff.

³⁰ Kazarov, *o.c.*, No 954, Abb. 462.

³¹ On the syncretism with Mên, see Picard in *RA* 1961, t. II, X-XII, 168; Lane in *Muse* 8, 1974, 34.

³² See A. F. Lossev, *Antichnaya mifologiya v ee istoricheskom razvitií*, Moscow 1957, 277.

³³ A. Milchev describes these objects as a coin, key, musical instrument—*sistrum*? (or seal for impressing coins), the purse of Mercury. The two publications give the description and measurements of the objects. I think it superfluous to repeat them here. My reservations on a number of interpretations which I do not set forth here, are indicated in my article quoted in the lemma to the monument.

³⁴ Seyrig in *BCH* 51, 1927, 207. According to A. Milchev, this representation, which occurs often in the Sabazios monuments, evinces a syncretism with Dionysos, the protector of plant life.

³⁵ In the opinion of A. Milchev, the snake was both a sacred and a sacrificial animal to the deity, which symbolized fertility (pp. 63, 71 of the Bulgarian publication); this interpretation is quite unacceptable to me. Cf. also the interpretations on the ground of the collected literature about the symbols on the Sabazios reliefs in Hajjar in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* I, 455 ff.

³⁶ Nikolov in *IAI* 33, 1972, 136 ff., No 1, 2 and fig. 1, 2.

³⁷ M. Opperman, *Pametnitsite i koulut na Trakijskiya heros v Bulgaria* (Summary presented before his dissertation), Sofia 1970.

³⁸ For the latest about this office and the provincial assembly in Thrace, see B. Gerov, *Pochetnata dluzhnost i titla trakarh* in *GPLNM* 1, 1948, 27 ff.

³⁹ A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, London 1971, 210 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 214, n. 1-2.

⁴¹ Picard, *o.c.*, 166-167.

⁴² Popov in *Etudes balkaniques*, No 2, 1976, 114 ff.

⁴³ Macrea in *Dacia* (N.S.), 1959, 336.

⁴⁴ Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2224.

⁴⁵ These data and their interpretation are to be found in the articles with very useful but outdated information s.v. Sabazios by Eisele in Roscher—L., IV kol. 252 ff., and Schaefer in *RE* IA, 1920, kol. 1540 ff.; for the latest see W. Fauth s.v. Sabazios in *Kl. Pauly* IV, 1972, kol. 1478 ff.

⁴⁶ See Picard in *RA* 1961, II, 129 ff. This is where the basic literature on the problem is indicated.

⁴⁷ Specialists on the history of ancient religions in other countries still take into consideration more often than not only a part of the Thracian monuments, which have been published in the article by Kazarov in *RE* VIA, s.v. Thrake (Religion), and the book by Y. Todorov, *Paganizmut v Dolna Miziya prez purvite tri veka sl. Hr.*, Sofia 1928.

⁴⁸ See Picard, *o.c.*, 131-132.

⁴⁹ See Macrea in *Dacia* III, 1959, 328 ff.

⁵⁰ Picard, *o.c.*, 175.

⁵¹ Milchev in *GSU IF* 66, 1972/73, 35-77; and in *VDI*, 2, 1977, 58-76.

⁵² Gorbanov in *Arheologiya*, 18, 1976, vol. 4, 13-18.

⁵³ Sarafov in *GSU FzF* 67, 1973, 1, 121 ff.

⁵⁴ I have already had the opportunity of indicating some of them in my article *Wesenszüge des Sabazioskultes in Moesia Inferior und Thracia* in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* III, 1217 ff.

⁵⁵ The latest in Picard, *o.c.*, 175. His view that the main part of the initiated in the cult was recruited from among the slaves (p. 149) has not found confirmation in the monuments discovered in this country.

⁵⁶ Eisele, *o.c.*, kol. 242.

⁵⁷ Chr. Blinkenberg, *Darstellungen des Sabazios und Denkmäler seines Kultes in Archäologische Studien*, Kopenhagen-Leipzig 1904, 116.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 70.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 71 ff.

⁶¹ R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*, Darmstadt 1956 (Fotomechanischer Nachdruck der III Auflage, 1927), 94 ff.

⁶² Blinkenberg, *o.c.*, 126 ff.

⁶³ G. Kazarov, *Die Denkmäler des Thrakischen Reitergottes*, Budapest 1938, 7.

⁶⁴ Picard, *o.c.*, 145, followed by the view of Seyrig in *BCH* 51, 1927, 202 ff.; cf. Picard in *RHR* CL, 1956, 24.

⁶⁵ Macrob., *Sat.*, I, 18, II.

⁶⁶ Schaefer, *o.c.*, 233.

⁶⁷ See the literature in Fauth, *o.c.*, in which he quotes some views that are rejected today; cf. the latest in Sarafov, *o.c.*, 179.

⁶⁸ Schol. zu Arist., *Vesp.*, 9.

⁶⁹ For more details about the Greek epithets of the Thracian deities, see Tacheva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VII, 1978, 3, 54 ff.

⁷⁰ Kazarov in *RE* XV, I, 1931, kol. 221 ff. s.v. *megas*; idem *RE* VIA, 1936, kol. 477 ff.

⁷¹ Seure in *REA* XIV, 1912, Nos 2-4, 50-52; *BCH* XXXVI, 1912, 584 on "Ἡρώς ἀρχαγέτας from Selimbria; ἀρχηγός τοῦ γένους was Sabazios for the reigning Cappadocian dynasties as well, see Prott, *o.c.*, 161 ff.; cf. the dedication to *Sabazio paterno*: Zotović, 104, No 50.

⁷² Prott in *AM* 27, 1902, 163 ff.

⁷³ Picard, *o.c.*, 152, n. 1.

⁷⁴ See below about the cult of Hypsistos (IV, B, 7).

⁷⁵ For more details on the identification of Sabazios and Dionysos, see Eisele, *o.c.*, kol. 257 ff.; cf. the observations of R. Turcan, *Dionysos Dimorphos. Une illustration de la théologie de Bacchus dans l'art funéraire in Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Paris 1958, 243 ff.

⁷⁶ See Lane in *Muse* 1974, 8, 34 ff.

⁷⁷ Similar monuments have been quoted by Eisele, *o.c.*, kol. 241.

⁷⁸ For these versions see Eisele, *o.c.*, kol. 234 ff.

⁷⁹ Diod., IV, 4, I.

⁸⁰ Schol. zu Arist., *Vesp.*, 9.

⁸¹ Schol. zu Arist., *Av.*, 874.

⁸² Perdrizet, *Cultes et mythes du Pangée*, Paris 1910, 53.

⁸³ Macrob., *Sat.*, I, 18, II.

⁸⁴ See the study of Lossev, *o.c.*, 323.

⁸⁵ Ps. Erat., *Catast.*, (24).

⁸⁶ This is the view of Fauth, *o.c.*, kol. 2.

⁸⁷ As is noted by Lossev, *o.c.*, 269, 278, Apollo owes his association with the ram to his ability of ousting the older Greek gods and heroes; in various parts of Hellas the ram was linked with Hermes—in Laconia with Karnos, and later, after Apollo came to be revered more and more, the epithet of Karneion was given to him as well. This is how I view the tortoise in Homer's song about Hermes (*in Herm.*, 41-51) and in the information supplied by Pausanias (II, 19, 7), as associated with Apollo too but via Hermes, and not with Hermes himself as Milchev in *VDI* 2, 1977, 69, assumes.

⁸⁸ See Lossev, *o.c.*, 277.

⁸⁹ Herod., VII, 111.

⁹⁰ The members of the cult collegia in Athens were likewise only men, cf. the inscription IG II² 1335 (II 5, 626 b) dated 102/1 BC and linked with IG II² 2932 (II 1326) dated 342/1 BC. In the story of Demosthenes (*de cor.*, 259-260) there is a description of popular cult festivities, and not of mysteries, with the participation of women in the former, as for example the mother of Aeschines.

⁹¹ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* III, 299 f.

⁹² Ramsey in *JHS* X, 1889, 216 ff.

⁹³ See Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* II, 236 f.

⁹⁴ See Nilsson, *GGr II*, 1961, 662; cf. my observations in this connection in *Issledovaniya V, VDI* 1978, I, 141 f.

⁹⁵ W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Cult of Sabazios. A Study in Religious Syncretism in The Labyrinth* (ed. by S. H. Hooke), 1935, IV passim; W. Fauth, *o.c.*, kol. 1479.

IV. MONUMENTS WITH DEDICATIONS TO THE GOD (OR ZEUS) HYPYSISTOS

¹ Tatscheva-Hitova, *Rolyata na preselnitsite ot Mala Aziya, Siriya i Egipet*, 23, No 46, from Phrygia?

² Parvan in *Dacia* I, 1925, 477 and n. 12.

³ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 74, No 18, fig. 2.

⁴ J. et L. Robert in *Hellenica* VI, 113, n. 2.

⁵ M. Rostovtsev, *Antichnaya dekorativnaya zhivopis na yuge Rossii*, Sankt-Petersbourg 1914, 425.

⁶ Fr. Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*, Paris 1917, 80 ff.; Deubner in *RM* 27, 1912, 5.

⁷ For the description of the funeral, see Diod., XVII, 115.

⁸ Vl. I. Georgiev, *Die thrakischen Götternamen. Ein Beitrag zur Religion der alten Thraker* in *LB* 18, 1975, I, 16.

⁹ Nilsson in *Opuscula selecta* III, 202; J. Gagé in *RACH* VII, 1969, kol. 166 s.v. Fackel.

¹⁰ Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* III, 189 and n. 97.

¹¹ Rostovtsev, *Antichnaya dekorativnaya zhivopis*, 428 ff.

¹² Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 65; 73-74, No 15-19.

¹³ Seure in *Starinar* I, 1992, 52 ff.

¹⁴ Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*, 80 ff.

¹⁵ A similar prayer is to be seen in the inscription of a Thracian in Egypt, cf. A. D. Nock et alii, *The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos* in *HTHR* 29, 1936, 69, n. 81.

¹⁶ Nilsson, *GGrR*, 636, n. 3; C. Colpe in *Kl. Pauly* II, kol. 1922, s.v. Hypsistos.

¹⁷ Rostovtsev, *o.c.*, 432.

¹⁸ Cf. Roscher's *L.* IV, 263 ff.

¹⁹ *RE* IX, 1914, kol. 1448.

²⁰ Cook, *Zeus* II, 881, Pl. XXXIX.

²¹ In *GPLNB* 1923, 201 ff.

²² Cook, *Zeus* II, 878, No (10).

²³ Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* I, 317 ff.

²⁴ Cf. also the dedication from Gyueshevo to Apollo by one Claudius Auphidius, a councillor in the colony of Deultum, *IGB* IV, 2239. Again from Zeleni Grad has come a Latin inscription with the relief of a man, his hands raised in prayer, a gesture which suggests in the most general manner Syrian influence.

²⁵ Cf. Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VII, 55 ff., Pl. III.

²⁶ Cf. Tacit., *Ann.*, II, 67; III, 38.

²⁷ H. Schmitt in *RE* XXIV, 1963, kol. 586-587; *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*² I, No 900.

²⁸ Cagnat, *IGRR* IV, No 144-148.

²⁹ About Rhoemetalkas III see B. Lenk in *RE* VI A, kol. 451; cf. the stemma in Mihailov, *IGB* I², p. 368.

³⁰ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 62.

³¹ This is how it is in Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* III, 188.

³² Nilsson, *GGrR* II, 664; cf. 572.

³³ Nadel in *Listy filologicke* 89, 1966, I, 13 ff., an assumption which is not supported by the formulations of Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman period* VIII, 121 ff.; cf. Kraabel in *GrRBST* 10, 1969, 89.

³⁴ Schürer in *SBAW*, 1897, 217, 225.

³⁵ His book *Paganizmut* indicates only the fragment of inscription IV, 1 and the opinion in this connection of Parvan on the identification of Hypsistos with Zalmoxis-Gebeleisis.

³⁶ G. Kazarov in *RE* VI A, pp. 529-530, where he indicates monuments IV, 10, 13.

³⁷ M. Rostovtsev, *Antichnaya dekorativnaya zhivopis na yuge Rossii*, Sankt-Petersbourg 1914, 432; Idem, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, 179-180.

³⁸ Cook, *Zeus* II, 884, 889.

³⁹ Tatscheva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* III, 271 ff.

⁴⁰ Some Bulgarian museums house reliefs with representations of an eagle similar to that on the Philippopolis monument (IV, 13) and these may, with the same degree of justification, be linked with other cults as well. Such is the case of the clay tablet from the village of Ovchilare, for example (Moesia Inferior, *IAI* 8, 1934, 457, fig. 279); this tablet reminds one in its general lines of the relief on the cult vessel from Serdica (IV, 22): an eagle with its wings slightly outspread is framed in an aedicula between two twisted columns with capitals.

⁴¹ At the Archaeological Institute and Museum in Sofia, Nos 7830-7833. Another two dedications discovered together with IV, 3 (Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 1935, 1945) have likewise not been included.

⁴² The same is true of Dacia too, if one should go by the two inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa, see Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 60, 74, Nos 21-22.

⁴³ See Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 70.

⁴⁴ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* II, 238; cf. Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VIII.

⁴⁵ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VII, 54-56. Pl. IV.

⁴⁶ Cook, *Zeus* II, 879. No (17)-ἀγῶτατος.

⁴⁷ See, for instance, *IGB* I 402; III 1784, 1796, 1888.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 66 ff.; *Untersuchungen* VI, 141.

⁴⁹ Cumont in *B. Ac. Belge* 1912, No 5, 251 ff.; Cook, II, 884 (20); Kraabel, *o.c.*, 89.

⁵⁰ Merlat, *Essai*, 40, 108 ff.

⁵¹ Merlat, *Répertoire*, No 251.

⁵² Merlat, *Essai*, 115.

⁵³ Vidman, *SIRIS*, 391 from the Aventine.

⁵⁴ Merlat in *RA* 27, 1947, I, 30.

⁵⁵ Vidman, *Isis-Sarapis*, 141-2, where he rejects Merlat's formulation.

⁵⁶ D. Kanatsoulis in *Makedonika* 5, 1955, 75, No 10; cf. R. Witt, *The Egyptian Cults in Ancient Macedonia in Ancient Macedonia* I, Thessaloniki 1972, 332.

⁵⁷ Vidman, *SIRIS*, No 758.

⁵⁸ The cult was non-existent in Moesia Inferior; in Dacia are known two dedications from Sarmizegetusa, see Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* IV, 60; 74, Nos 21-22; cf. Sanie in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* III, 1110, Pl. CCXIX, 2; 1113, II—a dedication from Apulum to *Iuppiter exsuperantissimus*, the only one so far from the Balkan provinces.

⁵⁹ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* II, 237-239.

⁶⁰ Gerov, *Zapadnotrakiiskite zemi* IV, 188; S. Koic in *Starinar* 15-16, 1964/65, 183 ff.

⁶¹ See Fr. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig 1909, 187, n. 42; cf. Vidman, *SIRIS*, Nos 110, 111.

⁶² Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VI, 136 ff.

⁶³ Cf. J. M. R. Cormack in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à G. Daux*, 51, fig. 1, 2.

⁶⁴ Cook, *Zeus* II, 879 (16); 881 (20).

⁶⁵ Robert in *Anatolia* 3, 1958, 118; Kraabel, *o.c.*, 90.

⁶⁶ Gagé in *RACH* VII, 1969, 162, 166, s.v. Fackel.

⁶⁷ Tačeva-Hitova, *Untersuchungen* VIII.

⁶⁸ It should be indicated here that recently the object of investigation has been the influence of paganism on the Hebrew diaspora, and not the influence of the Hebrew diaspora on its milieu. There is evidence of that—in the first place, it is obvious that the Hebrew diaspora, respectively the Alexandrian Septuagint, owes to Greek civilization the Greek name of their god, conveyed by the epithet of Hypsistos in Hebrew religious literature. Kraabel convincingly indicated for Asia Minor that wherever there was a numerous and well-organized diaspora, the cult of Hypsistos was either missing or had a slight diffusion (see *o.c.*, 91); that was how matters stood both in Rome and Alexandria, as is to be seen from the investigations of A. D. Nock, C. Roberts, Th. C. Skeat, *The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos* in *HTHR* 29, 1936, 69.

V. THE CULT OF ZEUS (JUPITER) DOLICHENUS

- ¹ About the *sportula* see Hug in *RE* VI A, kol. 1883.
- ² Merlat, *Rép.*, No 62, Pl. IV, 1.
- ³ Gerov in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin 1977, 127-128.
- ⁴ Cf. Gr. Tocilescu, *Fouilles et recherches en Roumanie*, Bucarest 1900, 213 ff., No 43.
- ⁵ Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, 94, n. 4-5.
- ⁶ Tocilescu in *AEM* 11, 1887, 65-66, No 135 = CIL III 7513.
- ⁷ According to Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften*.
- ⁸ See Merlat, *Rép.*, 397-400, where only the forms of Δολιχηνός and Δολοχηνός have been indicated.
- ⁹ See A. Domaszewski in *RE* III, kol. 2712.
- ¹⁰ On the Castores see Merlat, *Essai*, 36 ff.; see also Tóth in *Acta Arch. Hung.* 28, 1976, 93 ff., 93 ff.; in his opinion the presence of the Castores emphasizes the cosmic nature of the god.
- ¹¹ See Merlat, *Essai*, 119.
- ¹² Kazarov in *ÖJh* 27, 1932, 168-172, fig. 105; Merlat, *Rép.*, No 50; for the latest see M. P. Speidel, *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (EPRO), Leiden, 1977, 55 ff., where similar tablets, discovered along the Rhine-Danube limes, have been indicated and assumptions have been made about the purpose they served.
- ¹³ J. Kolendo, J. Trynkowski, *o.c.*, (to V, 1), 117, n. 12.
- ¹⁴ Kolendo in *Archeologia* (Wars.) 19, 1968, 117 ff., fig. 1-12.
- ¹⁵ Merlat, *Rép.*, No 62-64; cf. idem, *Essai*, 194.
- ¹⁶ Merlat, *Rép.*, No 26, 33, 233?, 234.
- ¹⁷ Mihailov, *IGB* III, 1593, 1601, 1650, 1690, 1714, 1762.
- ¹⁸ See Gerov in *GNMPI* I, 1948, 30; and also Robert, *Hellenica* 10, 1955, 83, n. 3; J. et L. Robert in *Bull. ép.*, 1970, No 423.
- ¹⁹ Tóth, *o.c.*, 99 ff. According to him, the preserved portion of the representation on the pedestal was a part of the central scene on the bronze tablet of unidentified provenance (V, 17). This assumption is not entirely acceptable in my opinion.
- ²⁰ Merlat, *Essai*, 207 ff.
- ²¹ Cf. A. H. Kan, *Juppiter Dolichenus. Sammlung der Inschriften und Bildwerke*, Leiden 1943, 33 and the quoted literature and monuments. According to Merlat, the hand from Mauer-ander-Uhrl (*Rép.*, No 164) which carries no symbols or dedications, is associated with the Dolichenian worship; it was discovered at a big sanctuary of the cult and its identification is acceptable. The hand from Vindonissa, however, has likewise no symbols or dedications and for this reason Merlat includes it in the group of uncertain monuments (*ibid.*, No 347), while Wagner (*Eine Votivhand für Iuppiter Dolichenus und Iuno Dolichena aus Comana Cappadociae in Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* III, 1305) associates it, without full justification in my opinion, with the same cult.
- ²² *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, Paris-Rennes 1951.
- ²³ *Jupiter Dolichenus. Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse*, Paris 1960.
- ²⁴ M. P. Speidel, *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (EPRO 73), Leiden 1977, 38, n. 119, has indicated the newly discovered monuments of the Dolichenian cult published after Merlat's corpus. The new interpretations of the monuments from Moesia Inferior and Thracia are quoted under the individual monuments in the interpretation further below.
- ²⁵ Tacheva-Hitova (*Prouchvaniya* I); the same study without a catalogue and commentary see in *Klio* 58, 1976, I, 25-40.
- ²⁶ The text is quoted after Cumont, *Études syriennes*, 174, n. 2.
- ²⁷ Steph. Byzant., *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*. (ed. Meinecke) 1841, I: ἔθνικὸν Δολιχαῖος, ἀφ' οὗ Δολιχαῖος Ζεὺς· οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δολιχηνὸς λέγουσιν.
- ²⁸ *Essai*, 3, n. 2. Merlat believes that because of the author's errors, the text should read: ἔθνικὸν Δολιχηνὸς Ζεὺς· οἱ δ' ἐπιχώριοι Δολιχαῖοι λέγονται.

²⁹ Merlat, *Essai*, 115-116; cf. *Rép.*, No 27, 192, 195, 200, 203, 273.

³⁰ Merlat, *Essai*, 80 ff., has investigated exhaustively Dolichenus' consort.

³¹ See *Rép.*, No 132, 160, 220, 302, 338.

³² *Ibidem*, 191-192, 199, 202; cf. *Essai*, 15, 105.

³³ Speidel, *o.c.*, 21 ff. The author is not entirely justified in criticizing Merlat about the considerations he has put forward on the Dolichenus-Apollo link, basing his criticism solely on what the corpus has to say, p. 192, without taking into account the interpretation in the *Essai*, 15, 105, etc.

³⁴ See the monuments in Merlat, *Rép.*, No 50, 66, 190, p. 68.

³⁵ Wagner in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* III, Pls. CCLX, CCLXI.

³⁶ Lusthaus in *Archeologia* (Wrocław) I, 1947, 69 ff.

³⁷ Lang in *Arch. Ert.* 7-9, 1946-1948, 183 ff.

³⁸ Heddernheim-Merlat, *Rép.*, No 318; Myszkow (Dacia)-*ibidem*, No 41; Cănuțele-Merlat, *Not. dol.*, 178 ff.

³⁹ Merlat, *Rép.*, No 105, 164, 347.

⁴⁰ Merlat, *Essai*, 177 ff., n. 11; *idem*, *Not. dol.*, 179 ff.

⁴¹ Wagner, *o.c.*, 1304-1305.

⁴² The monuments have been published by Merlat, *Not. dol.*, l.c.

⁴³ About the hand see Fellmann in *Festschrift F. K. Dörner* I, 288, n. 11. V. Gonzenbach's publication quoted there where the hand is not accepted as topping a military standard, was unavailable to me.

⁴⁴ See Merlat, *Rép.*, No 50, 66, 147, 148, 152, 153, 166, 168, 321, 322; Tóth in *Alba Regia* 15, 1976, 89 ff.

⁴⁵ Merlat, *Essai*, 168.

⁴⁶ Tóth in *Studia Savariensia* IV, 99-101; cf. *idem* in *Alba Regia* 15, 1976, 90, fig. 2, 3.

⁴⁷ See the monuments in Merlat, *Rép.*, No 59, 113, 176, 203, 238, 274, 284, 323, 326.

⁴⁸ Tóth in *Acta Arch. Hung.* 25, 1973, 109-116.

⁴⁹ About Dacia, see Tóth in *Acta Arch. Hung.*, 25, 1973, 109, n. 3; things are not perfectly clear about Moesia Superior because of the uncertain dating of the inscription from Ratiaria (No 44 in Merlat); the latter may also be referred to the period following Maximinus, see Speidel, 73-74, n. 240, where he has doubts, quite unjustifiably in my opinion, that the relic belonged to the Dolichenian cult.

⁵⁰ See Speidel, *o.c.*, 75.

⁵¹ Speidel, 38, 45.

⁵² Merlat, *Essai*, 176-177, n. 1-2.

⁵³ This aspect of Victory has also been indicated by Merlat, but Speidel again puts it for discussion (p. 44), adducing as arguments likewise the monuments dedicated to the victories and the good health of the reigning emperors. The comparison between dedications by persons of the military profession (here are not quoted our relics V, 1, 11) and civilians (our relics again do not figure here) is obviously incomplete, but would not have served as a stable ground even if this type of dedications in monuments of other cults were taken into account. Cf., for instance, the monuments of Sarapis, where the dedicators are pre-eminently persons of the military profession—about them see in the present study I, B, 6. The association of private dedicators with Victory is substantiated by Speidel again in the same place (44, n. 137) also with the hand from Bizone (V, 12), but without indicating the reasons for that, nor his disagreement with Merlat, quoted in the same note.

⁵⁴ See the description by D. Lusthaus of the hand in *o.c.*, and the inscription: *I.O.M. Dolicenso Gaius optio c(o)h. I Hisp(anorum) (miliariae) v.s.l.m.*

⁵⁵ This is the only hand the inscription on which is not on the wrist.

⁵⁶ See Merlat, *Rép.*, 404, B; 405, G.

⁵⁷ Cf. Merlat, *Rép.*, No 62-64; *idem*, *Essai*, 192 ff.

⁵⁸ It is obvious that the high priests were among the well-to-do, cf. V, 3, 10, 23 and it is quite probable that their wealth was a consideration in electing them; in favour of the argument that the religious communities did not have well-to-do members is the fact that they were spared destruction by Maximinus.

⁵⁹ The evidence is summed up on the basis of Filov in *Klio* 6, Beiheft, 1906, 67 ff.; Ritterling in *RE* XII, s. v. legio; K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern 1951, 60 ff., 66, No 1331 a, b, c; Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milano-Roma, 60 ff.; Gerov, *Romanizmut* II, 41 ff.; J. Beneš, *Auxilia Romana in Moesia atque in Dacia*, Praha 1978, 99 ff., Pl. II; B. Gerassimova, *Razmestvane na rimskite pomoshni voiski prez II v. v Miziya* in *Arheologiya* 11, 1969, 4, 5-11.

⁶⁰ See also the monuments from Dacia and Rome, quoted under V, 10, and where the name was also given to high priests.

⁶¹ Merlat, *Rép.*, No 73, 80, 378. Here the name of Castor is a patronymic of the devotees—it is quite possible that their connection with the cult should have been due to their high priest fathers (?).

⁶² Cf. Tačeva-Hitova in *Proceedings of the 10th Intern. Congr. of Classical Archaeology* (1973), Ankara 1978, 73 ff., where a fuller argumentation has been given.

⁶³ Merlat, *Essai*, 130-131, indicates a list (minimal in his opinion, but also conjectural) of the Dolichenian sanctuaries. For Thracia have been designated sanctuaries according to the inscriptions from Augusta Traiana (V, 23) and Cillae (V, 26, erroneously located by Merlat in Moesia Inferior); for Moesia Inferior—according to the inscriptions from Gorsko Kossovo (i.e. Emporium Piretensium, as has been attested by T. Zavadsky in *BCH* 88, 1964, II, 531 ff.), Dragoevo (V, 3), Niculișel (V, 9), Mejdankyoi (V, 10) and Muratu (V, 13); according to D. Nikolov, H. Bouyukliev (see under V, 25), there were two shrines (temples) in Augusta Traiana, which is not possible in my opinion. In the *o.c.* above (note 41, p. 69) I accepted Merlat's list with a few specifications, as well as with a supplementing of the new inscriptions of high priests from the two provinces, but this list is plainly too big and this is to be seen not only from the present interpretation of the monuments, but also from a comparison with the spread of the rest of the cults that were foreign to the Thracian pantheon up to the setting up of the provinces of Moesia and Thracia.

⁶⁴ Merlat, *Essai*, 19, where he states his grounds not only by way of the relics, but also of G. Reville's investigation on the religion in the age of the Severi. Another opinion has been put forward by Speidel, *o.c.*, 65, where he refutes Merlat's statement by a list of monuments from the age of the Antonines; the refutation is indirect, because Merlat discusses the highest point of the cult's flourishing, while indicating its previous diffusion.

VI. THE GODDESSES ON THE BRONZE PLAQUES FROM RAZGRAD AND THEIR PARALLELS

¹ Cf. similar representations next to the bust of a Gallus on a monument from Lanuvium, on an altar of the Phrygian cult of Cybele and Attis and on a statuette of Attis in F. Cumont, *Or. Rel.*, Pl. I, 3; II, 2, 6 = Vermaseren, *CCCA* IV, no 466.

² For a similar representation of a goddess with a segmented kalathos and a pomegranate and a bird in her hands, originating most probably from Cyzicus, see Schwertheim in *Festschrift F. K. Dörner* II, 814, No 11 A 6. It should be noted that the goddess was also depicted in a naiskos, decorated with a rosette on the pediment.

³ Seyrig in *Antike kunst* 13, 1970, 76, Pl. 35, 6.

⁴ G. Kazarov in *RE* VI A, 1936, kol. 506, s.v. Thrake (Religion).

⁵ Graillot, *Cybèle*, Pl. III.

⁶ Vasilev in *IV. Colloque sur les bronzes antiques*, Lyon 1976.

⁷ Zhebelev in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* I, Prague 1927, 1-9.

⁸ Kazarov, *l.c.*

⁹ T. Ivanov, *Abritus. Vodach za antichniya grad pri Razgrad*, Sofia 1965, 46, fig. 52, 47, fig. 53 (rés. russ., germ., fr., engl. *Abritus, Guide to the Ancient City near Razgrad*).

¹⁰ Mihailov, *IGB* IV, 2245.

¹¹ Roscher's L. I, kol. 653 s.v. Astarte; Walton in *RAC* I, s.v. Atargatis.

¹² Cumont in *RE* I, 1894, kol. 2030 ff.; S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, 100.

¹³ M. Rostovtsev, *Bog-vsadnik na yuge Rossii, v Indo-Skifii i v Kitae* in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* I, 141; cf. idem, *Predstavlenie o monarhicheskoi vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore* in *IRAIK* 48-50, 1913; cf. also G. Kazarov, under the monument from Opaka (VI, 10).

¹⁴ Kazarov, *o.c.* under VI, 8.

VII. DEA SYRIA

¹ See the literature for the Goddesses from Razgrad, under note 11; cf. Avi-Yonah in *Israel Exploration Journal* 9, 1976, 8 ff.

² I. Berciu, C. C. Petolescu, *Les cultes orientaux dans la Dacie Méridionale (EPRO 54)*, Leiden 1976, 7 ff., No 19, 20, n. 27-32.

³ Cf. Avi-Yonah, *o.c.*, 7, n. 50; 11, n. 84-85.

VIII. THE HOLY AND THE RIGHTEOUS GODS

¹ About the formula and the incubation, see: I, B, 8; AD. Nock, *Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire* in *JHS* 45, 1925, 96, according to him, the emphasis here is on the element of command, while the formula is linked with the gods bearing the epithets.

² Cf. the inscriptions about *dumi* and *dumopireti*: II, 4, 14, 101.

³ Robert in *Anatolia* 3, 1958, 118 ff., announced the future publication of a monograph on this cult to appear in a Turkish archaeological bulletin, but I have no information if it had appeared or not; G. Petzl in *Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, 757, n. 43.

⁴ Mordtmann in *AM* 10, 1885, 11 ff.

⁵ Petzl, *o.c.*, 756, No 4; 759.

⁶ CIG 3830; Mordtmann, *l.c.*; Crusius in Roscher, *Myth L.*, I (2), 2751, s.v. Hosios.

⁷ About a similar co-existence of the two cults, see Robert in *Anatolia* 3, 1958, 117.

⁸ See the inscriptions in Mihailov, *IGB* I³, 370, 374.

IX. THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD IN ITS ANATOLIAN VARIANT

¹ Seure in *RA* 10, 1907, 276.

² Mihailov, *IGB* II, 666-668 and the quoted literature on the collegia.

X. PRIAPUS

¹ Severeanu, *Monnaie inédite de Callatis*, 20.

² Severeanu, *o.c.*, 17, Pl. II, fig. 5, 6.

³ Pick, I, 1380, 1381, Pl. XVI, 37; 1457, Pl. XVI, 35; 2022, 2023.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 908, Pl. XVI, 36.

⁵ *Cf.* X, 6; Pick I, Pl. XVI, 37.

⁶ Mihailov, *IGB* I², 78, *ter*, 285, 286.

⁷ *Cf.* Olender in *Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren* II, 880; *CIL* III, 1139; *CIL*, XIV, 3565, d 2-3.

XI. GLYCON. THE MONUMENT FROM TOMI

¹ About the different opinions, see G. Bordenache.

² For greater detail, see E. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique*, 48 ff.; Nilsson, *GGrR* II, 473; Bordenache, *o.c.*, fig. 2—a coin from Callatis; *cf.* Pick I, 311 from the reign of Septimius Severus. Similar coins were likewise minted by other cities in the area—Tomi: Pick II, 3266, 3267, Pl. XX, 12 under Alexander Severus, as well as another type—Pl. XXI, 33. There are snakes on the city's coins up to the reign of Philip the Arab, which gives ground to Bordenache to assume an organized cult there; a similar phenomenon is to be observed at Nicomedia, which minted such coin during the same period, *cf.* Renan, *o.c.*, 50. See L. Robert, *Le serpent Glycon d'Abônouteichos à Athènes et Artémis d'Éphèse à Rome* in *CRAI* 1981, 513-535 and *idem*, *Dans une maison d'Éphèse. Un serpent et un chiffre* in *CRAI* 1982, 126-130, published after that the author's manuscript was delivered [M. J. Vermaseren].

XII. MËN

¹ Lane, *CMRDM* III, 113-114.

² *Ibid.*, 107.

³ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 99, n. 2.

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Chlorus and Galerius D(ominorum) n(ostro-
rum duorum) et Caes(arum duorum); II, 49

V. PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS and MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES

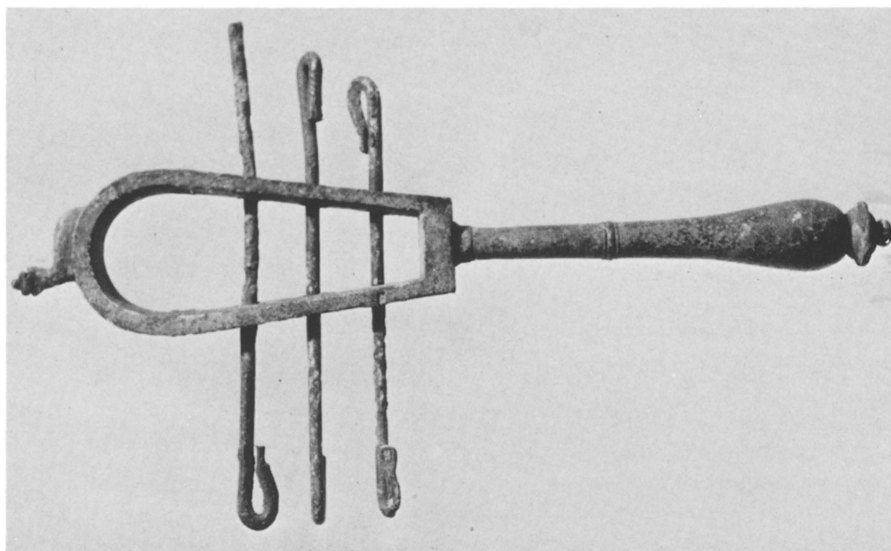
- M. Ialli(us) Bass(us) le[g](atus) Aug(usti)
pr.pr.]: I, 1
Aur(elius) Firmianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux
limit(is) prov(inciae) Scyt(hiae): II, 49
[Ἡγεμονέοντος Ἀπ(πίου) Κλ(αυδίου) [Μαρ-
τιάλου]: I, 34
Ἰπέρ τοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἐπάρχειαν ὑπατικοῦ
Ὀσυνίου Τερτύλλου: II, 48
[Ἐπὶ συναρχίας] ἄρχοντος Φλ(αβίου)
[Πομπηίου Μοντάνου?]: I, 34
Ἐπὶ συναρχ(ίας) Φήλεικος Μουκαπορεος: VIII, 2
- Τίτος Φλαουίος Σκελου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Δινις
ἀρχιρεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχείας: III, 20
Φλ(άβιος) Ἀσια[νός...]ου βουλ(ευτής): II, 5;
III, 4
Μ(άρκος) Πομπ[εῖ]ος Λούκιος...βουλευτῆς Διο-
νυσιοπολιτῶν, Καλλατιανῶν, Μαρκιανοπο-
λιτῶν: V, 11
Κλαύδιος Φρόντων βουλευτῆς πόλεως Ἀκυνκησίου:
V, 25
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πρίμος Ἀστίω τῷ καὶ Ἰουλίω
β(ου)λ(ευτής) τῆς Δακίας
Σεπτίμια Πορολίσσου: V, 23

PLATES I-XCII

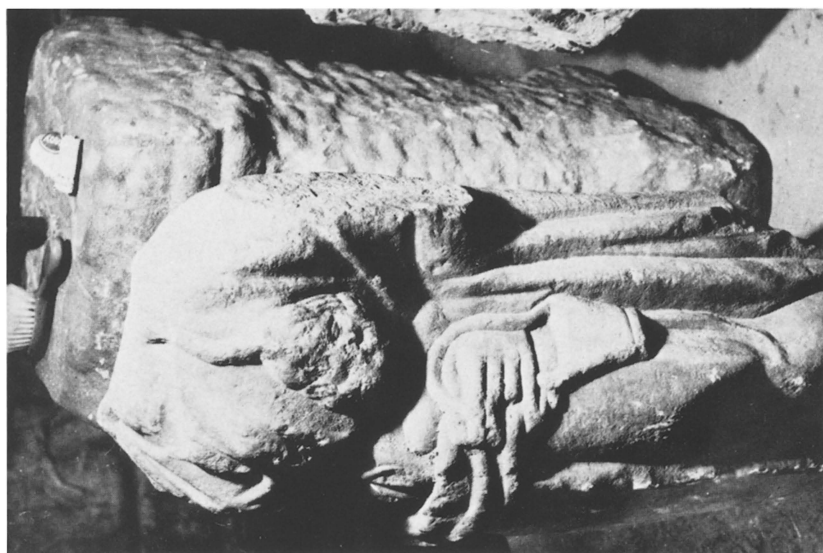


I, 2

PLATE II

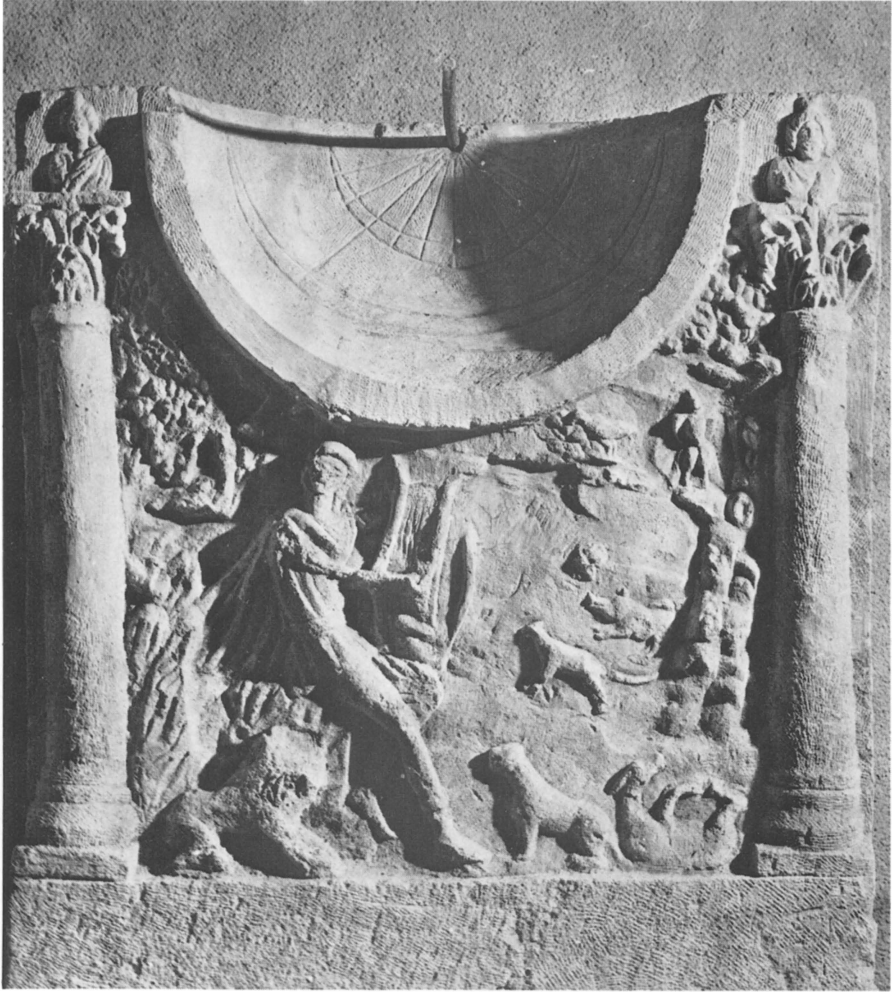


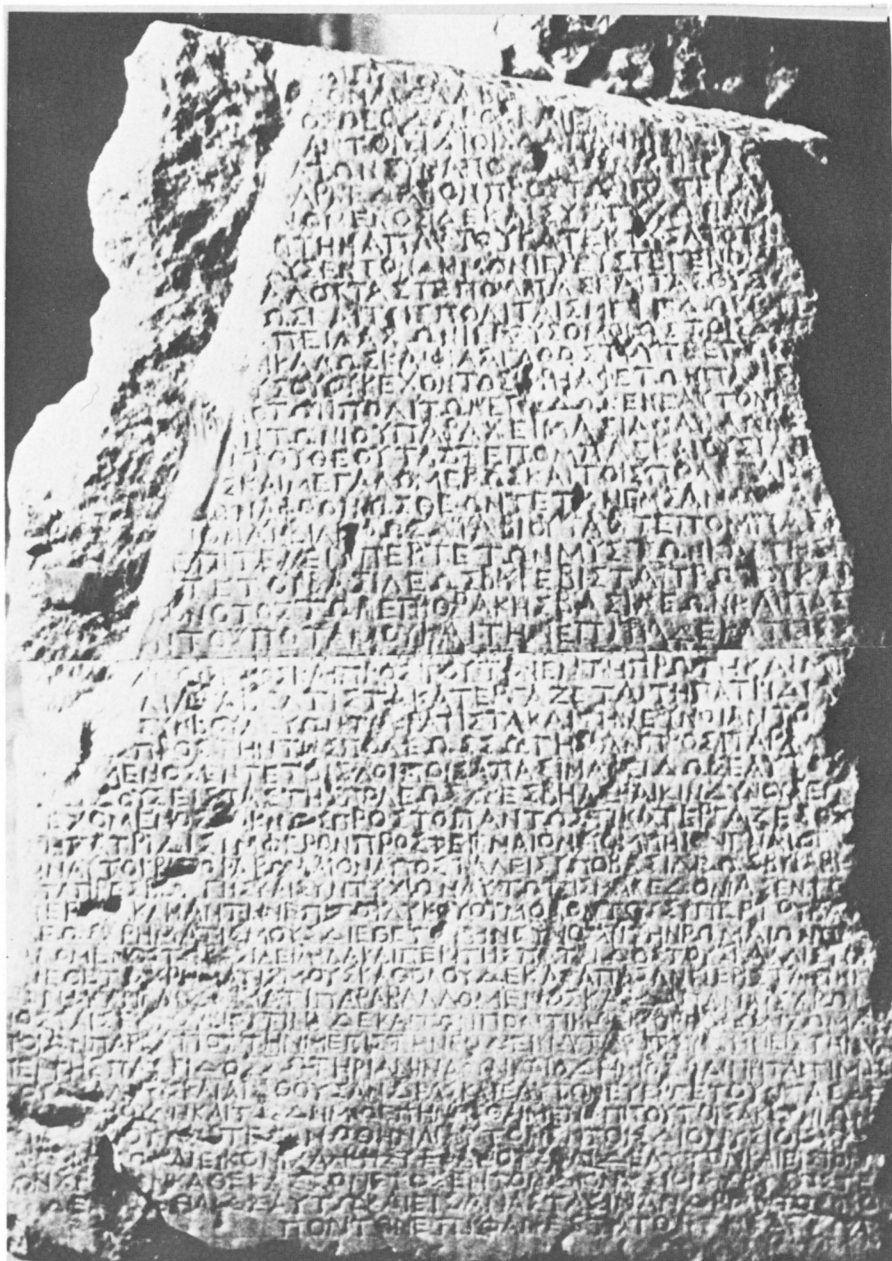
I, 4



I, 3









I, 10



I, 20



I, 29



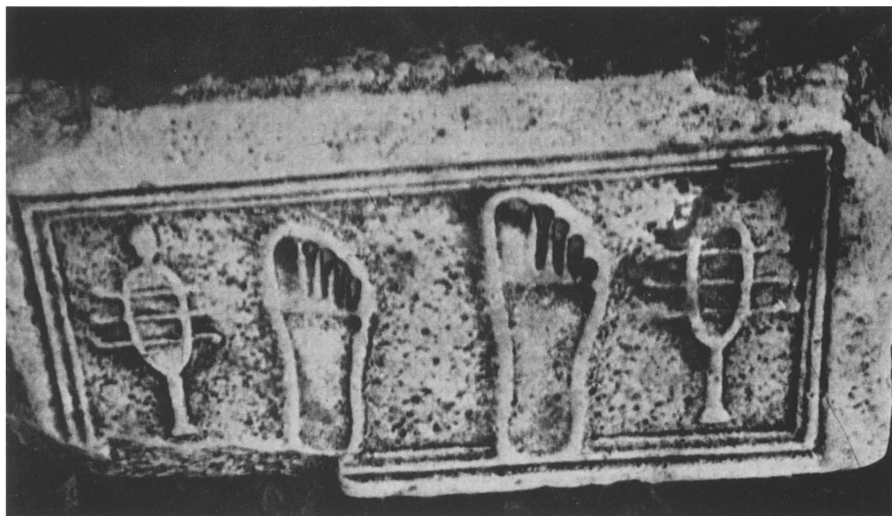
I, 30



I, 33



I, 34



I, 35

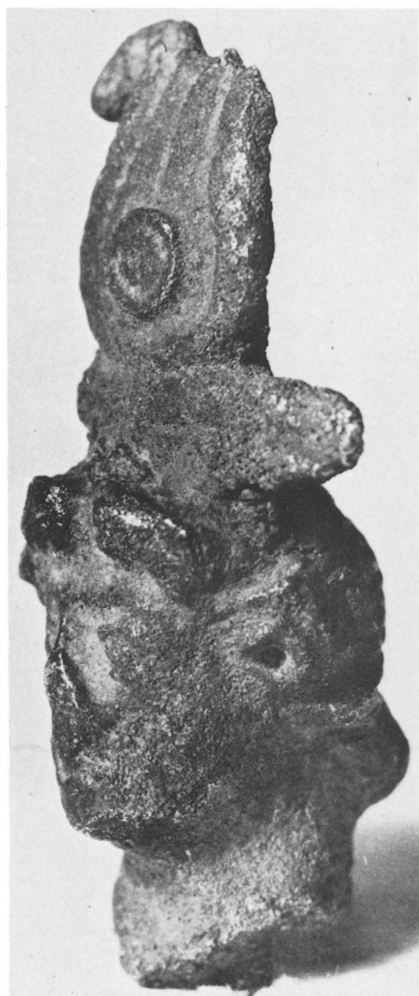


I, 36





PLATE XII



I, 40



I, 40



I, 42



I, 44







I, 53



I, 46

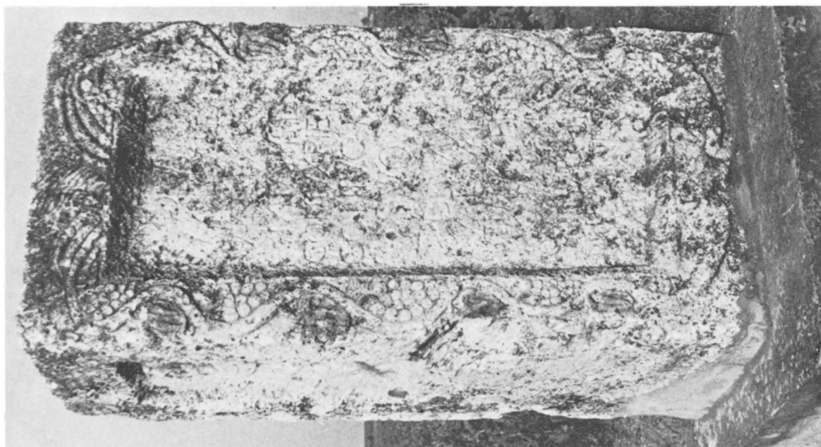


I, 55

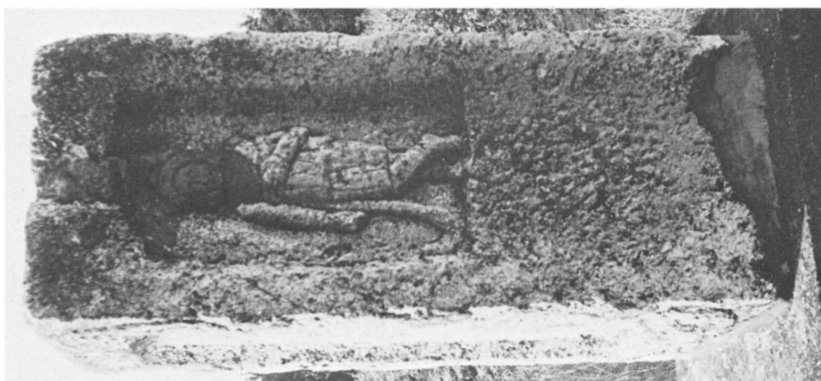


I, 55





II, 3



II, 3

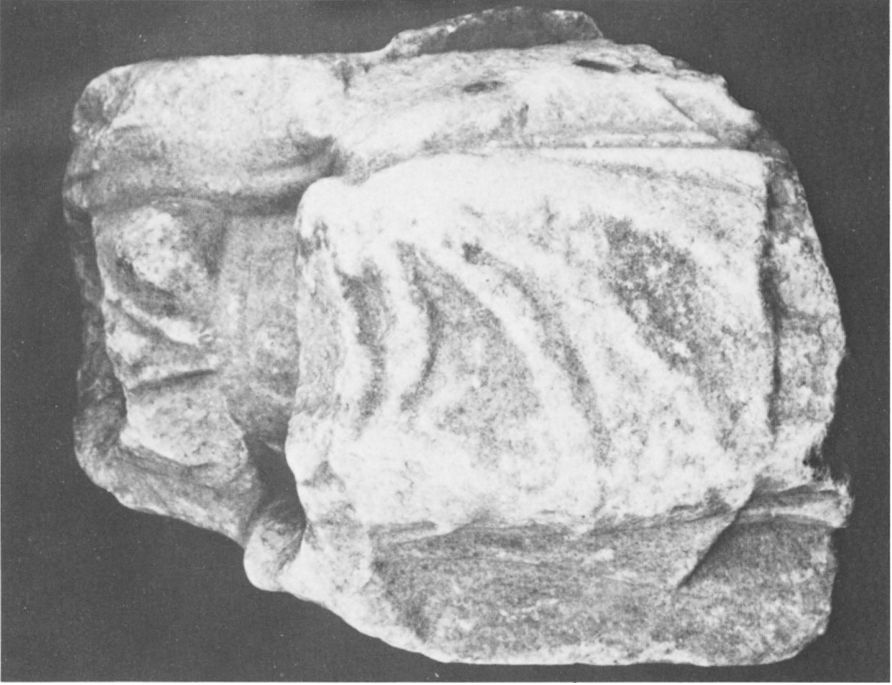


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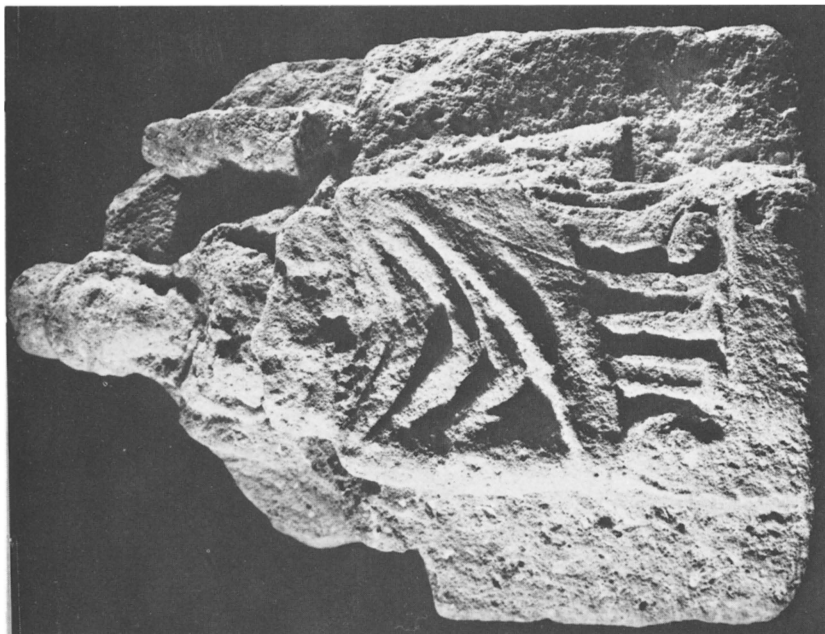
II, 16



II, 15







II, 21



II, 20



II, 25



II, 23



II, 29



II, 27



II, 33



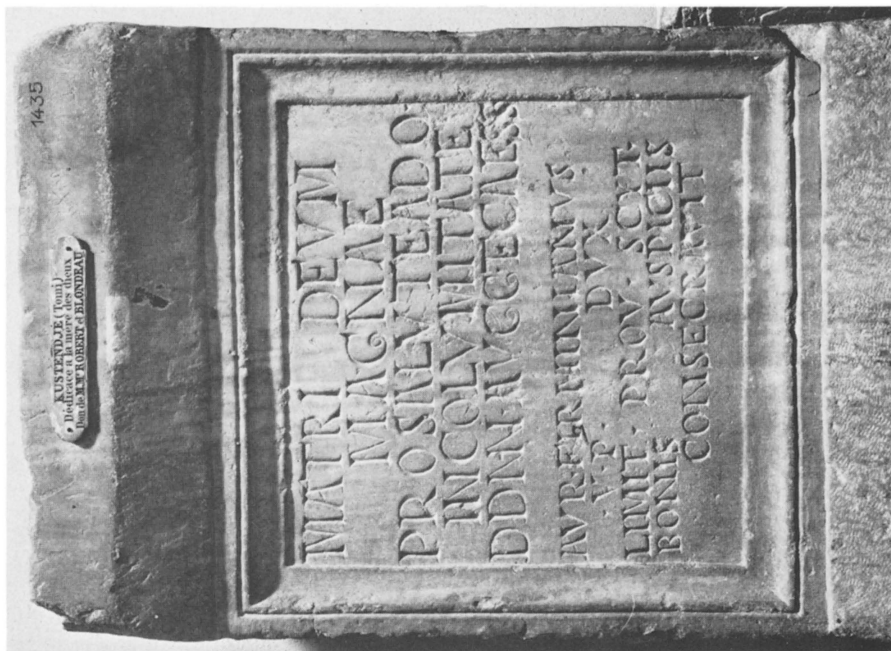
II, 30



II, 38



II, 39



II, 49



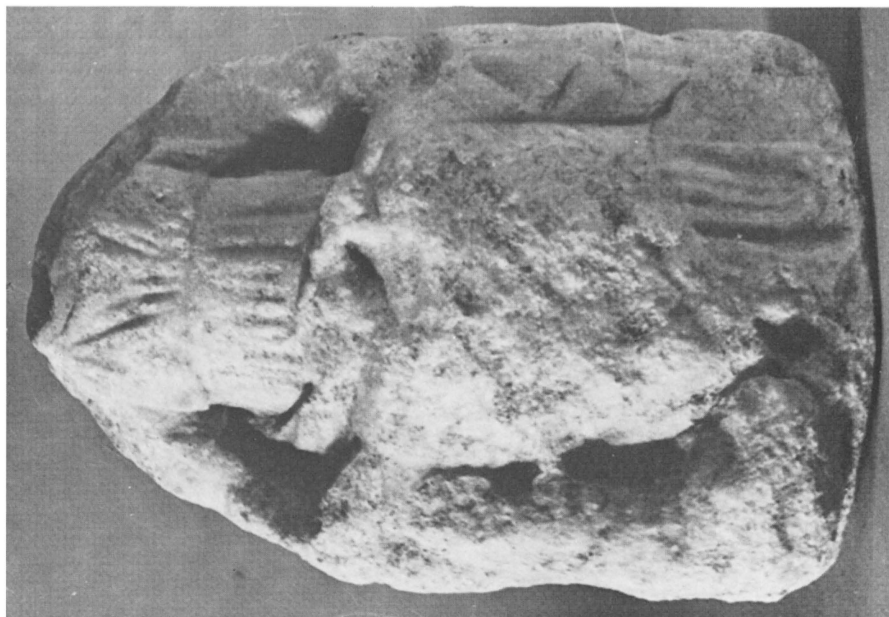
II, 47



II, 53



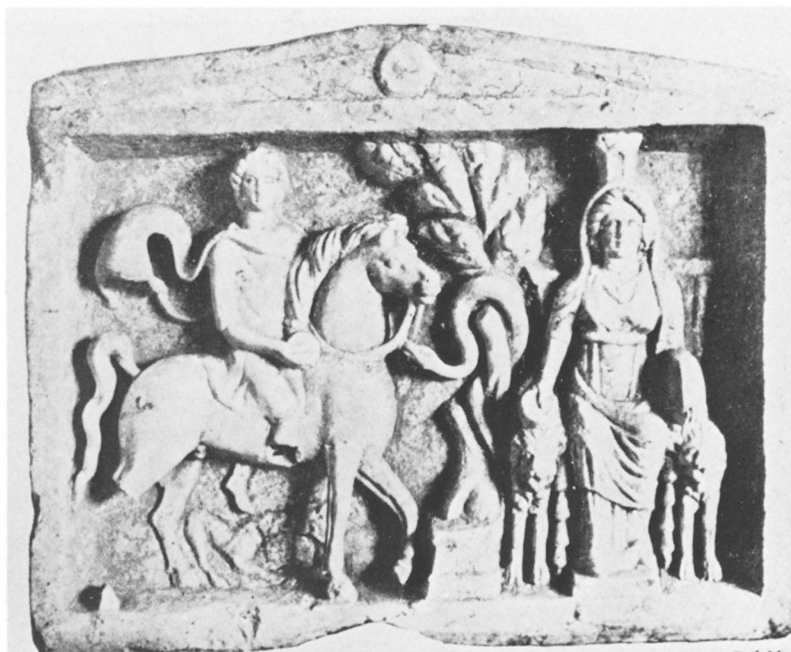
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II, 59



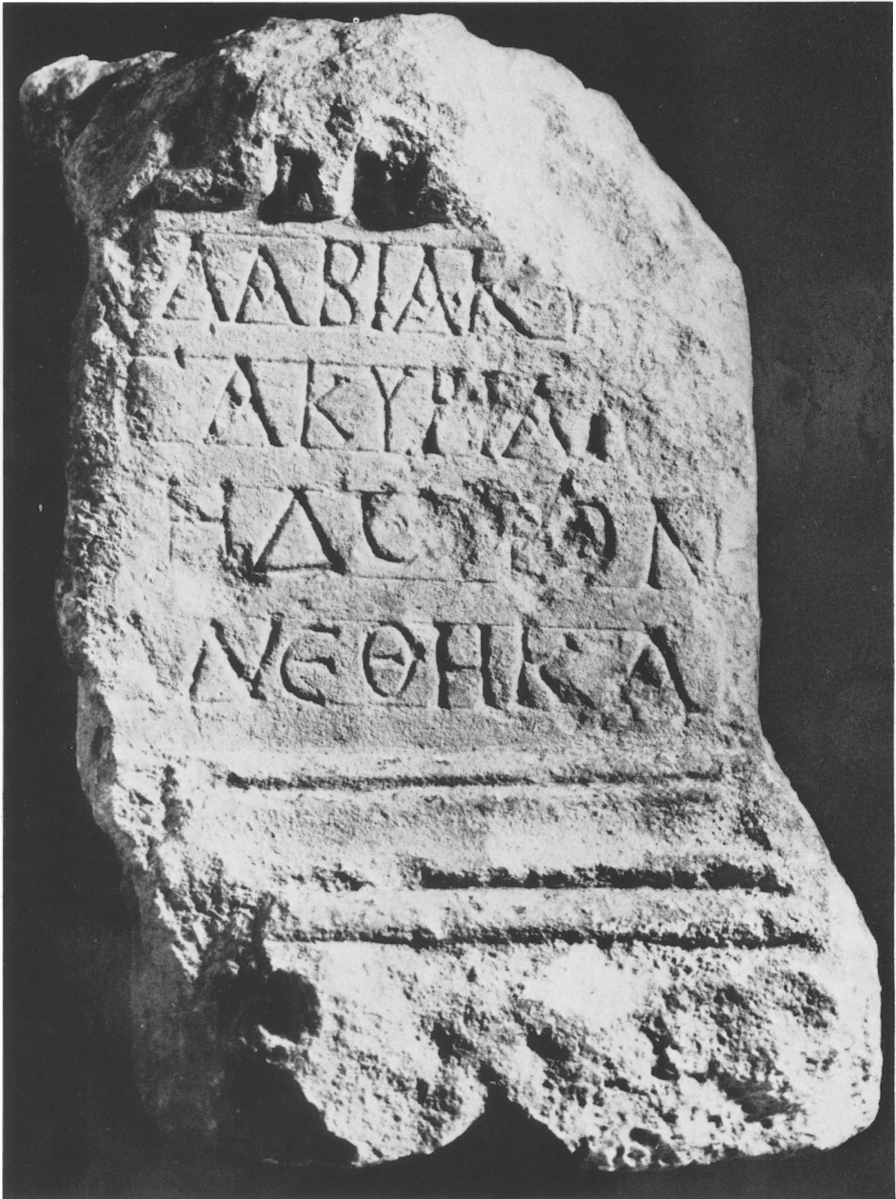
II, 54



II, 55a



II, 74







II, 88



II, 96

















II, 109



II, 112



II, 114



II, 113



II, 115



II, 116



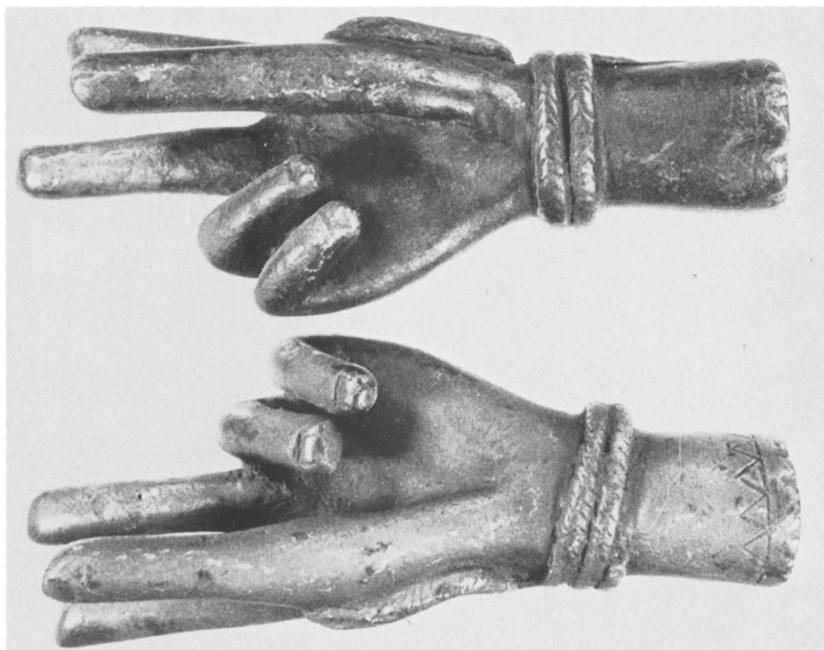
II, 128



II, 117







III, 2.2 bis



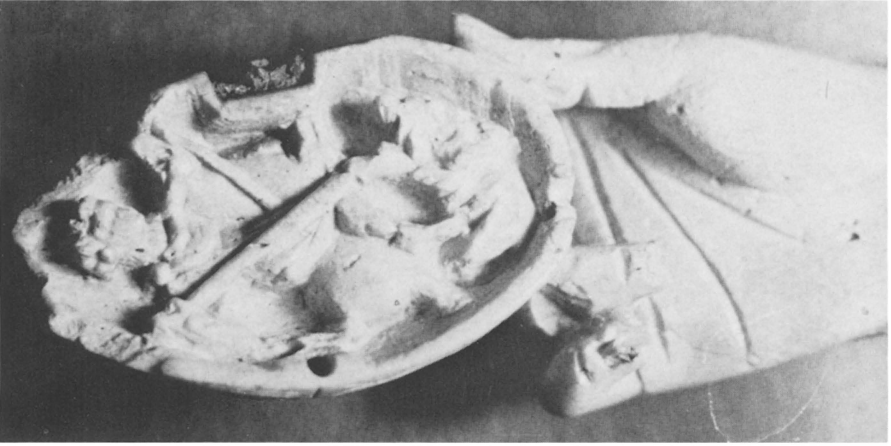
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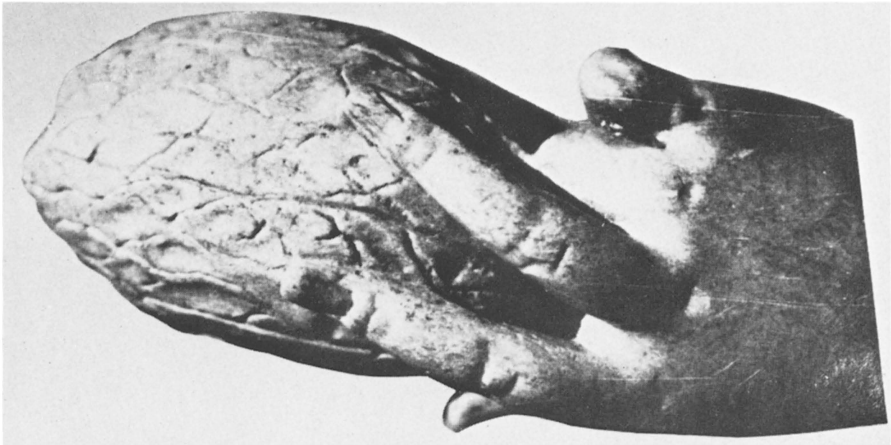
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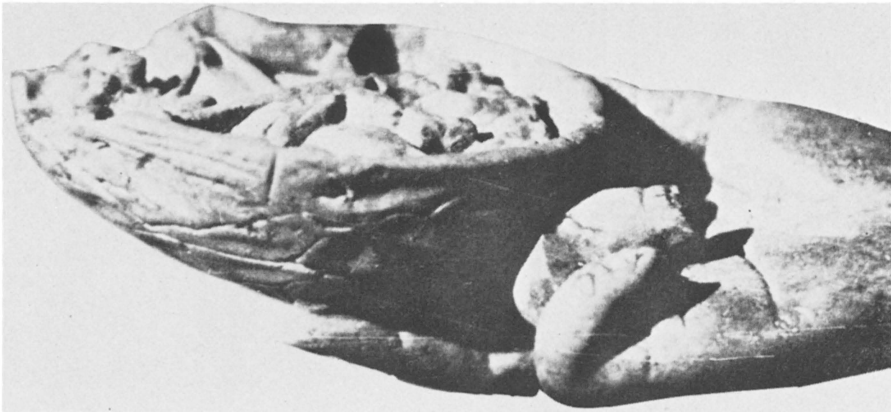
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III, 7



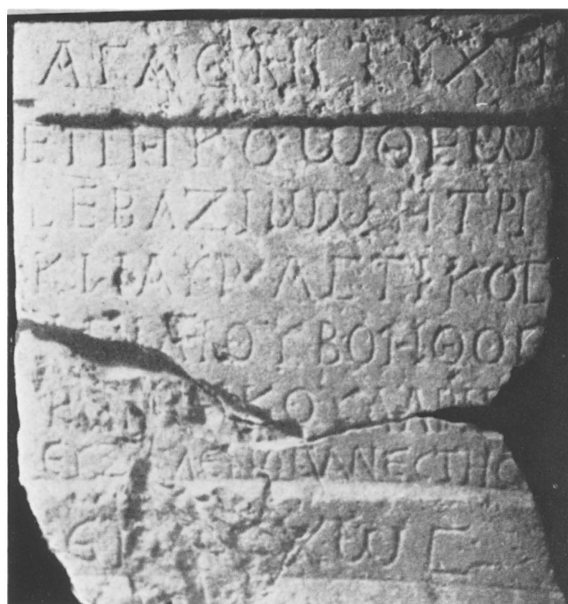
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III, 7



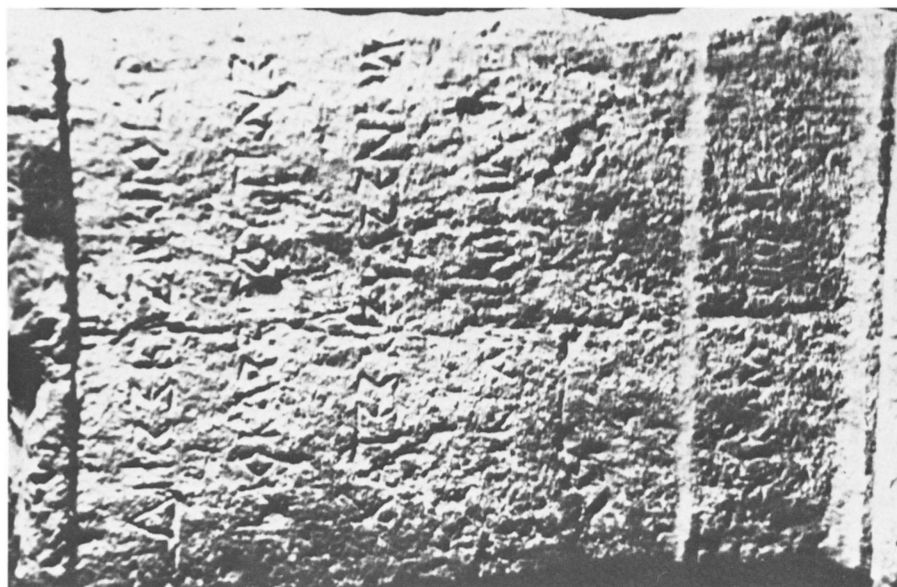
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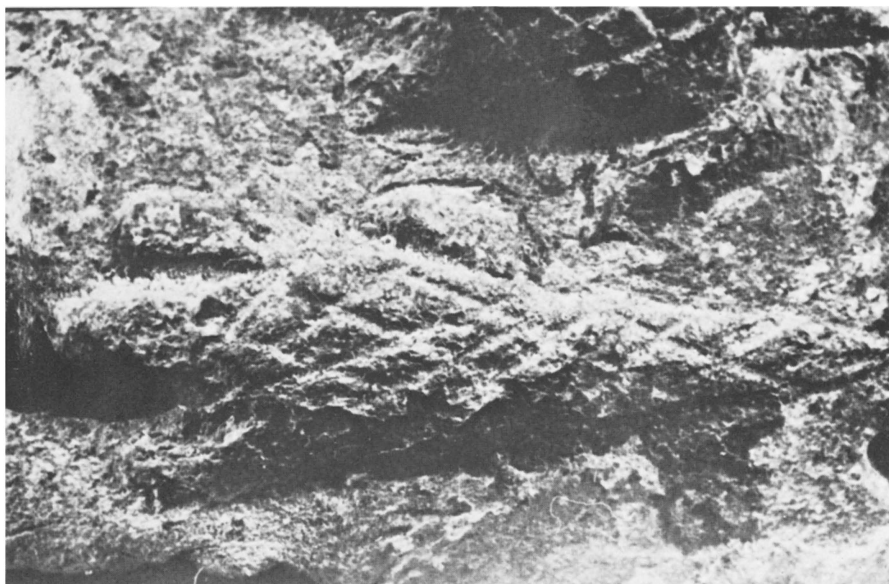
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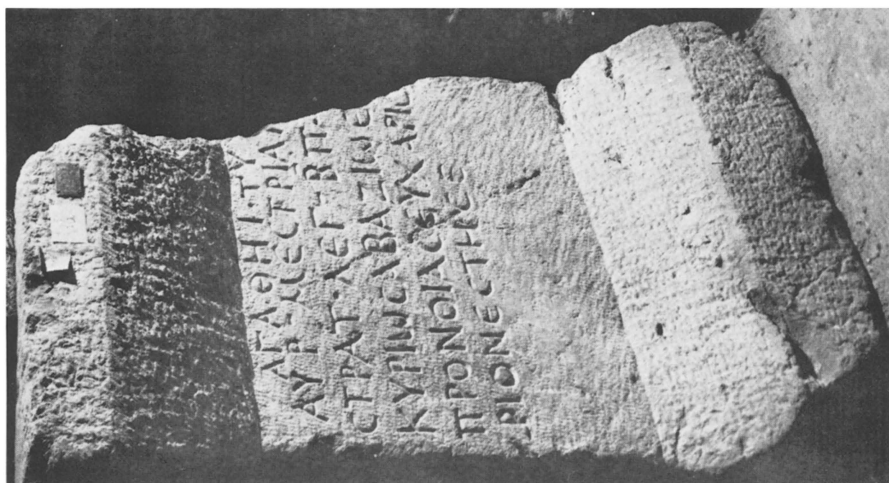
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III, 10



III, 18



III, 12



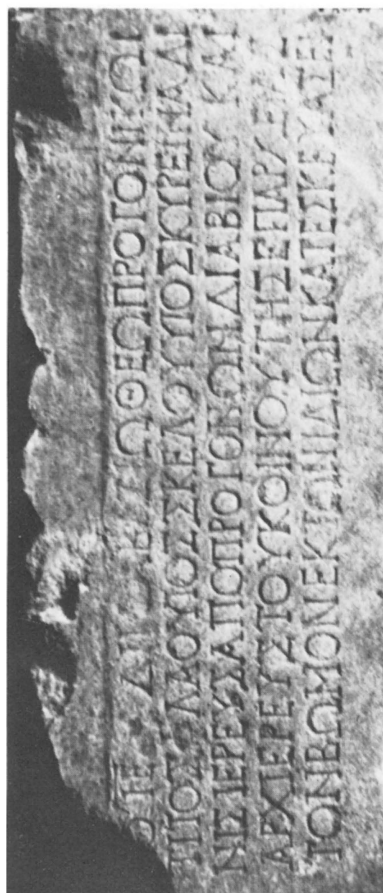




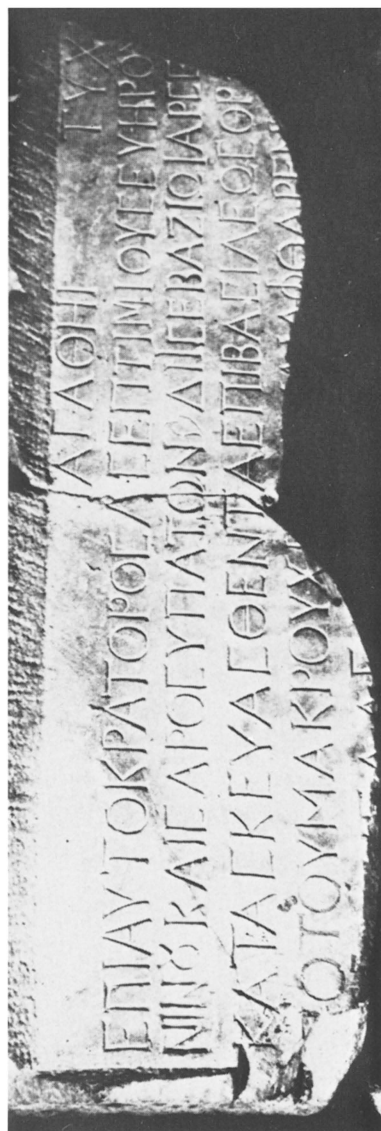
III, 18



III, 19



III, 20



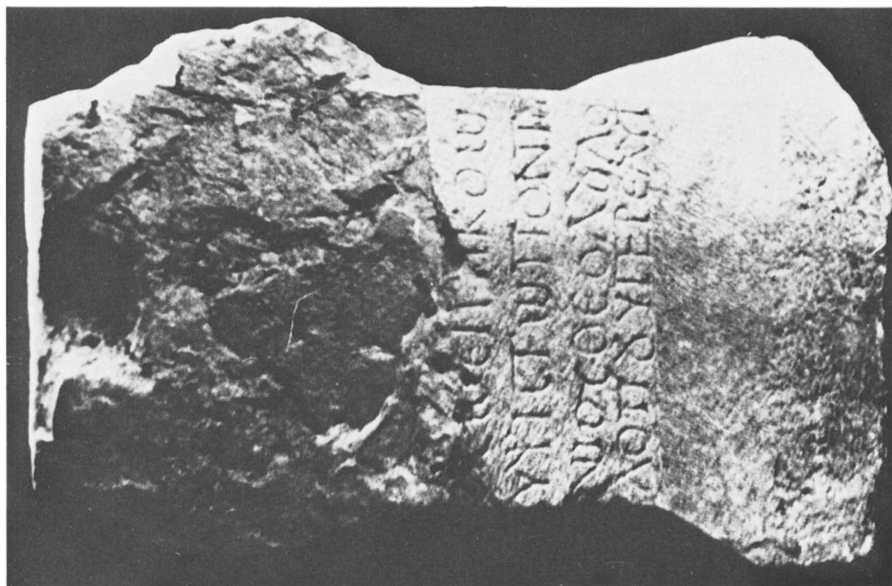
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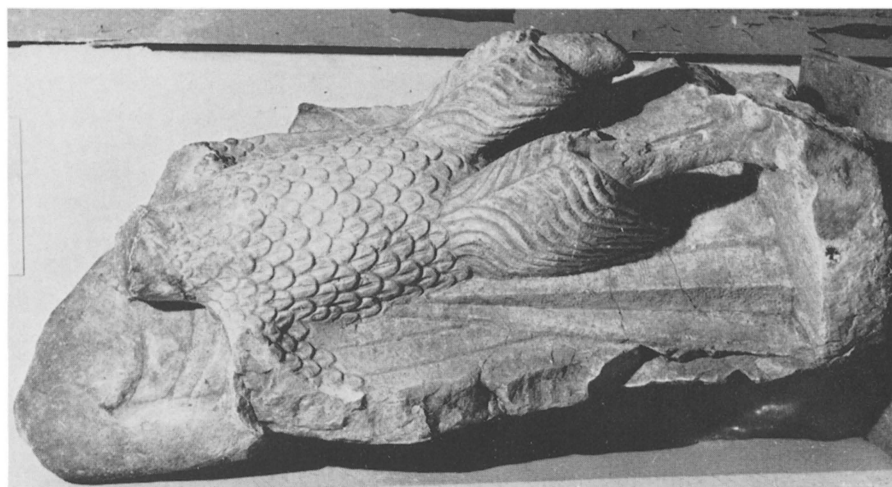




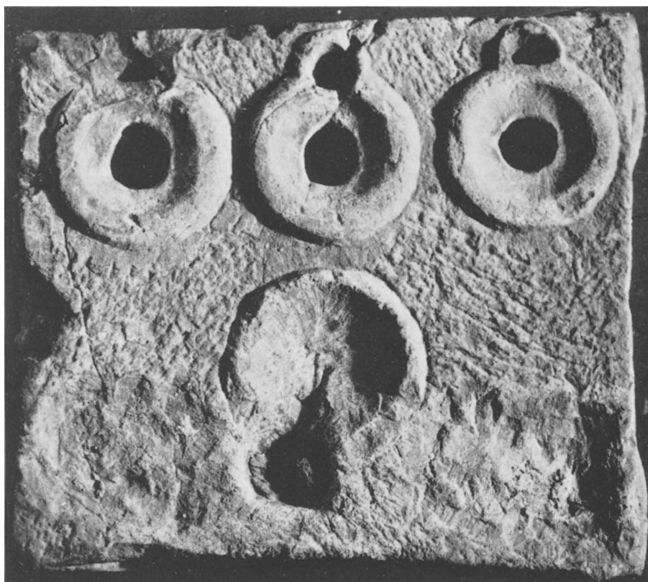
IV, 1



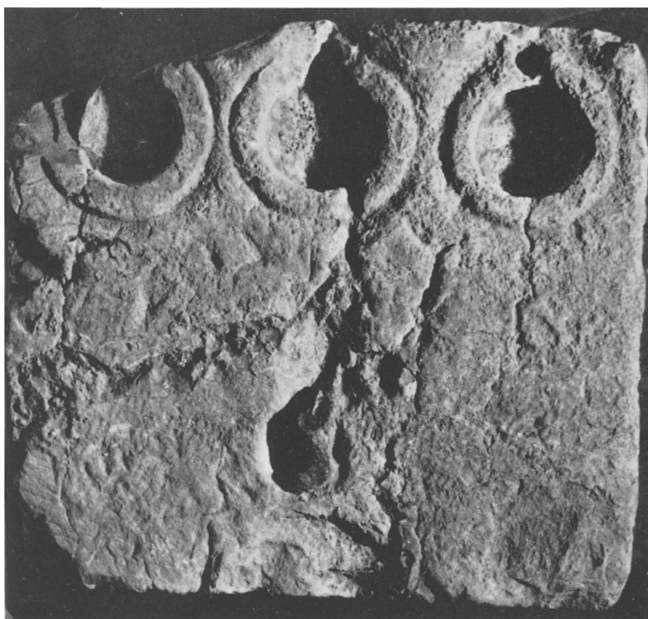
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IV, 3



IV, 6



IV, 7





IV, 13



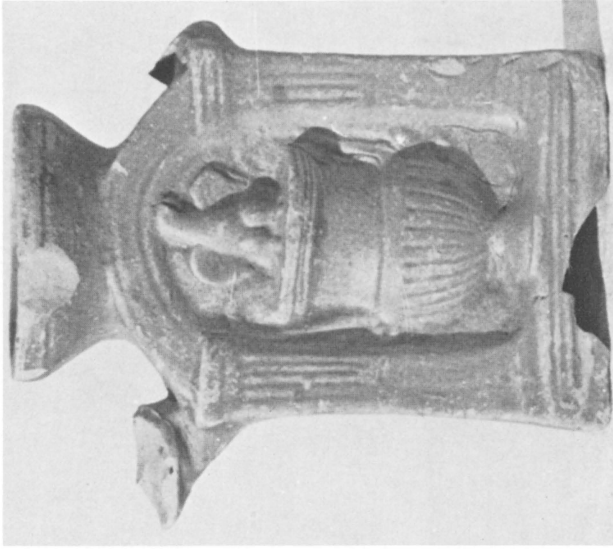
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IV, 14



IV, 15



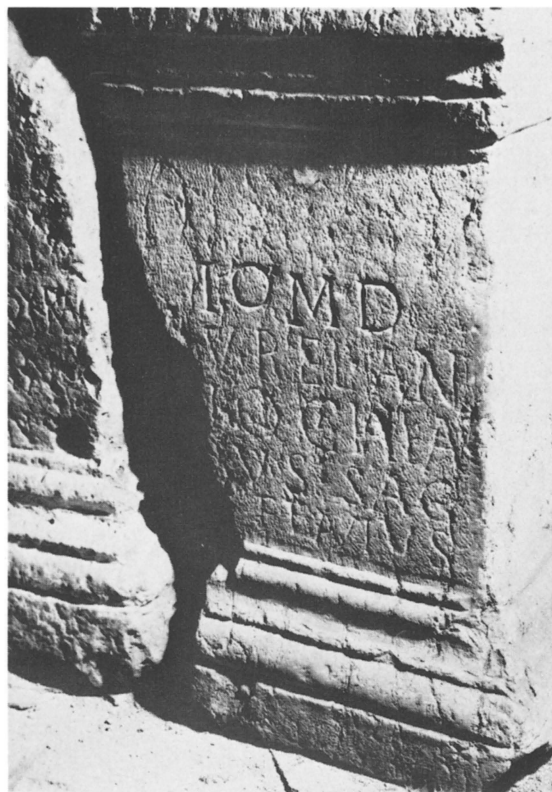
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IV, 20



V, 1



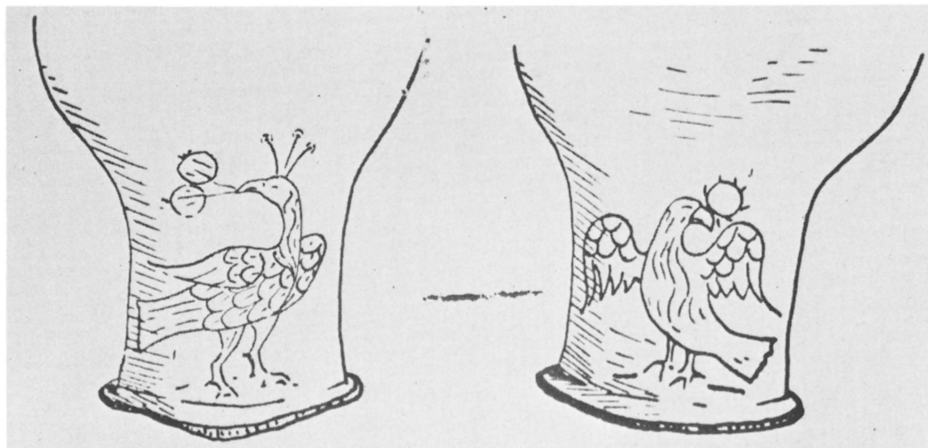
V, 2



V, 4





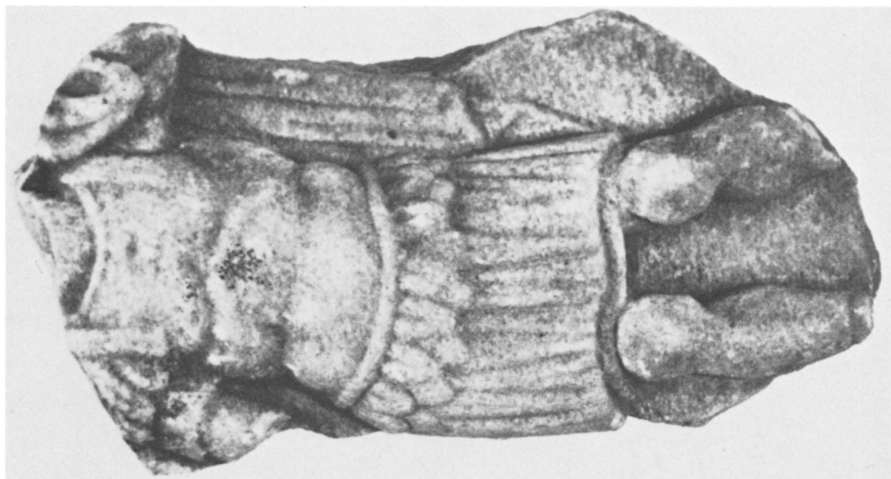


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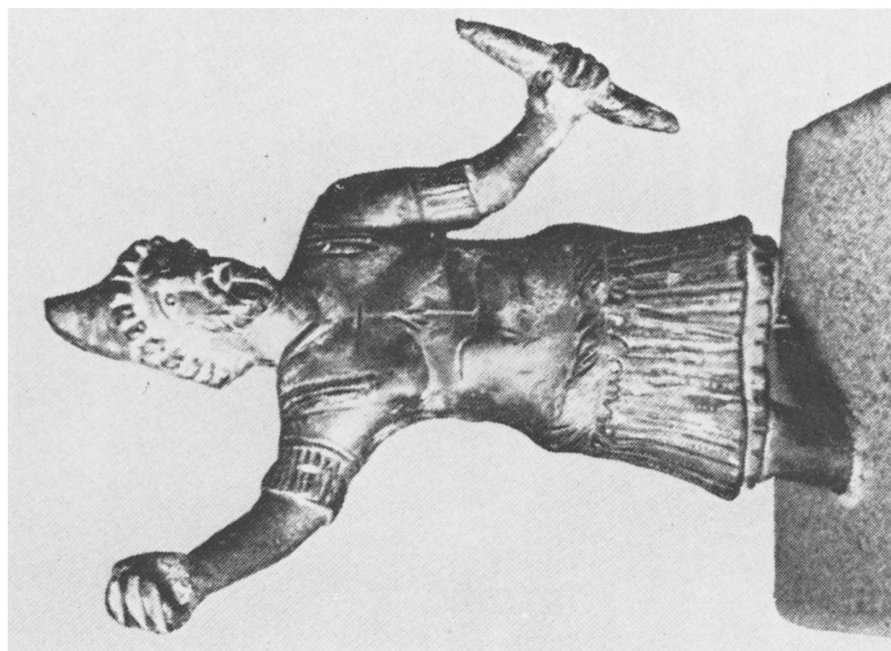


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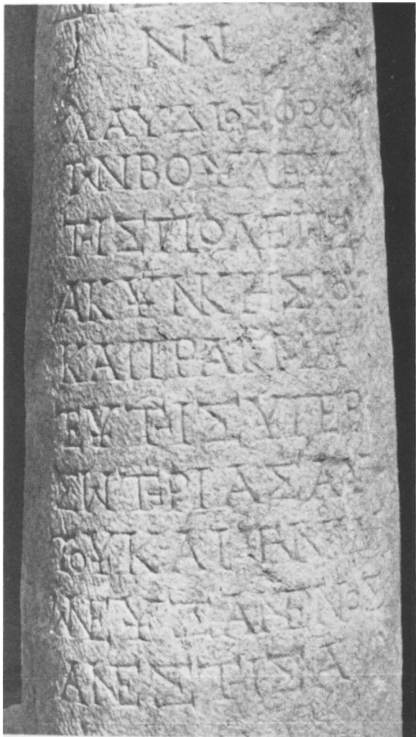
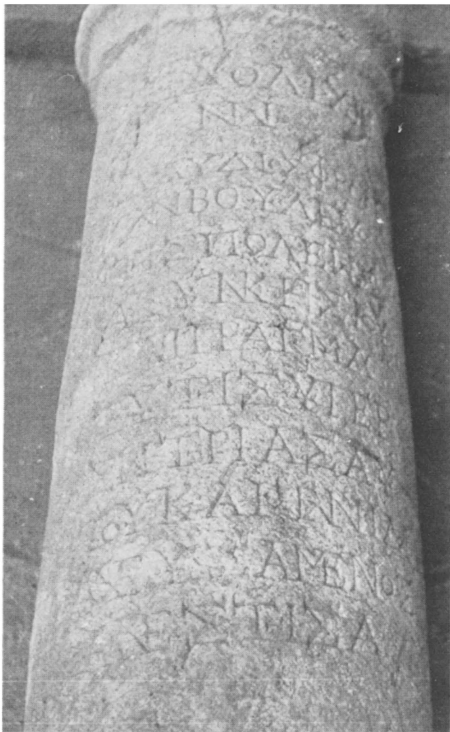


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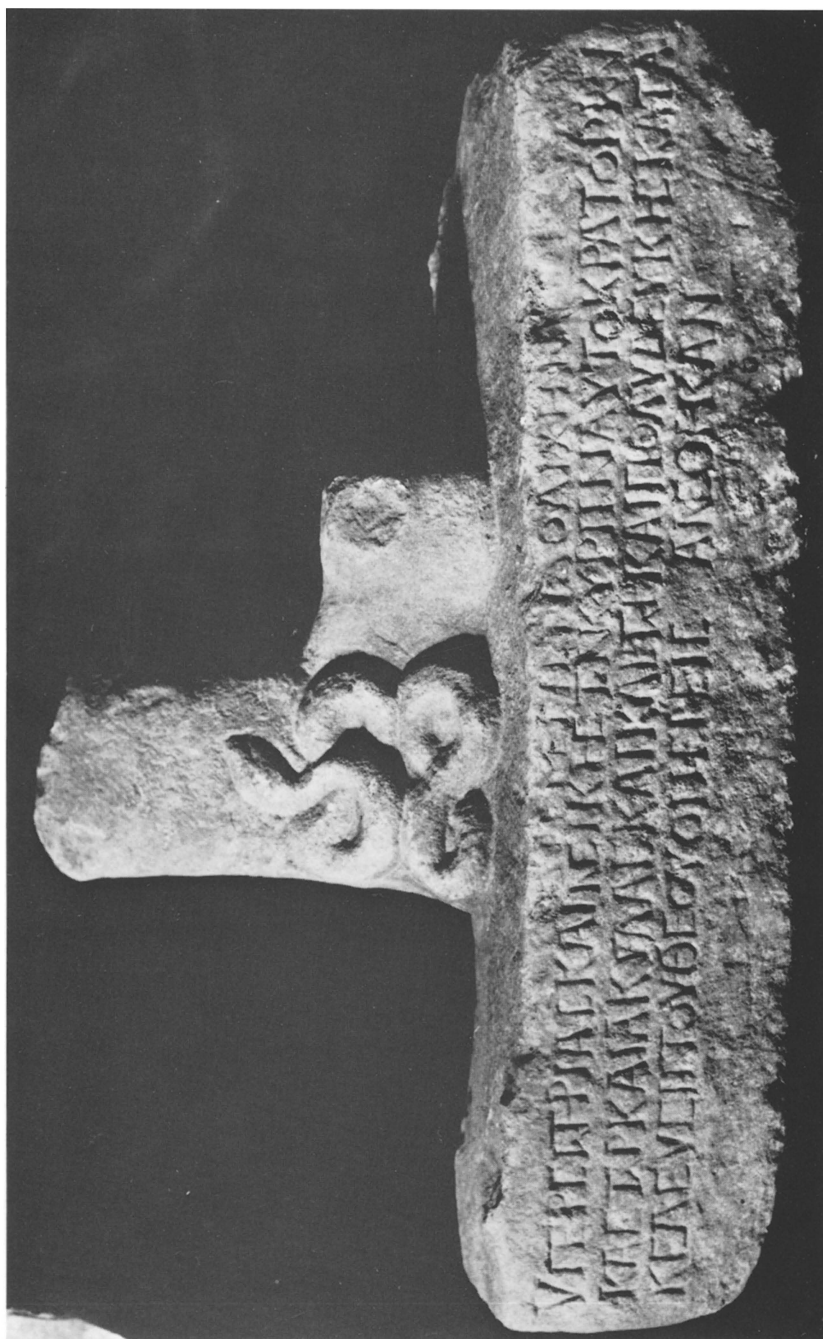




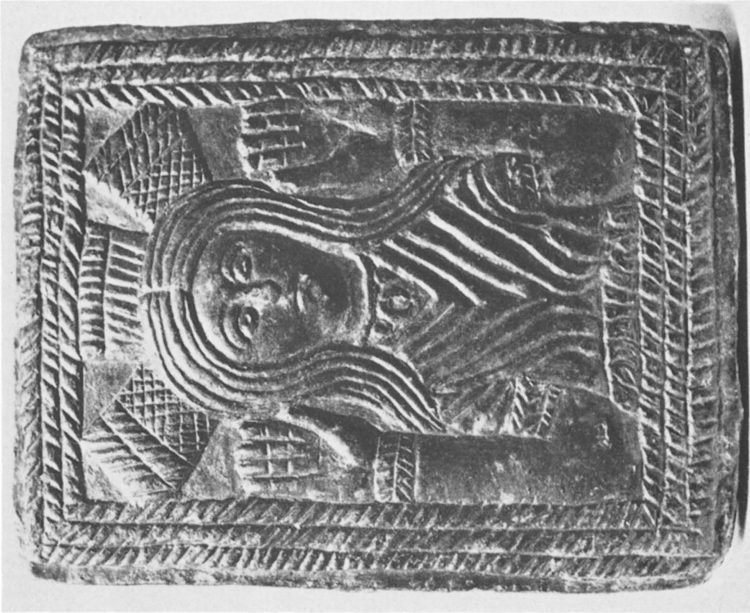
V, 24



V, 25







VI, 3



VI, 2



VI, 5



VI, 4

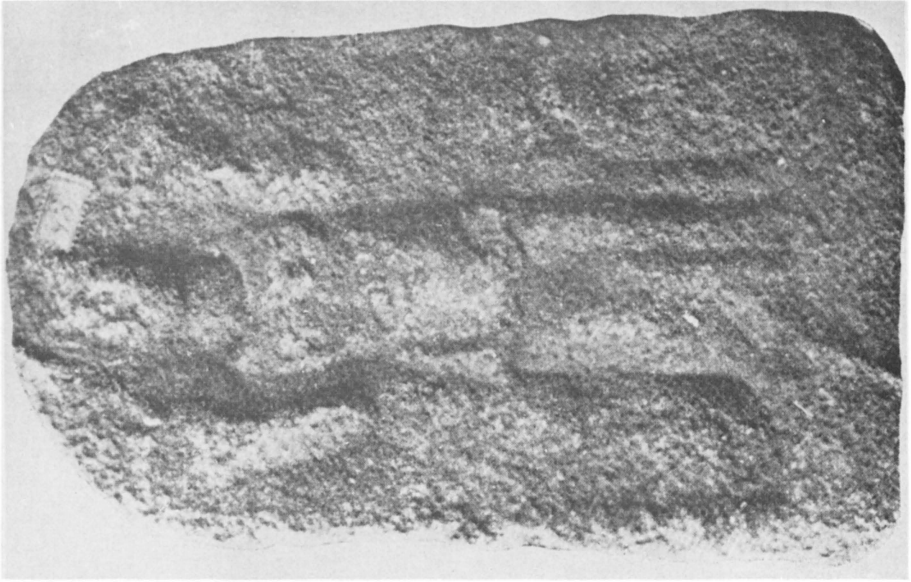


VI, 8



VI, 12

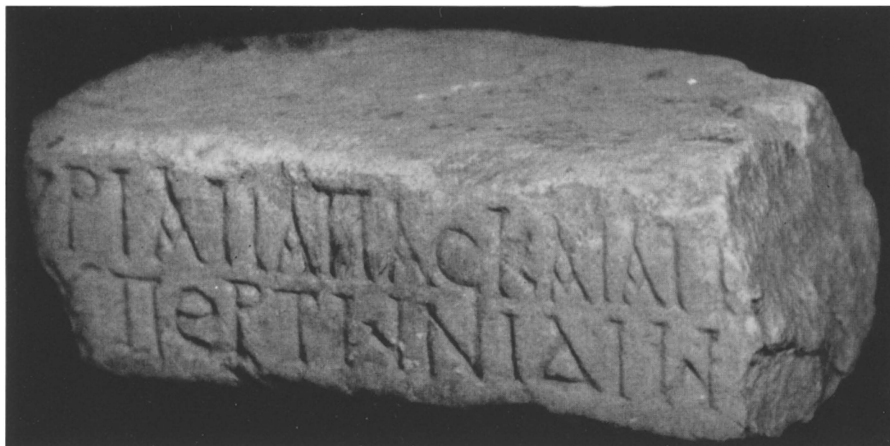




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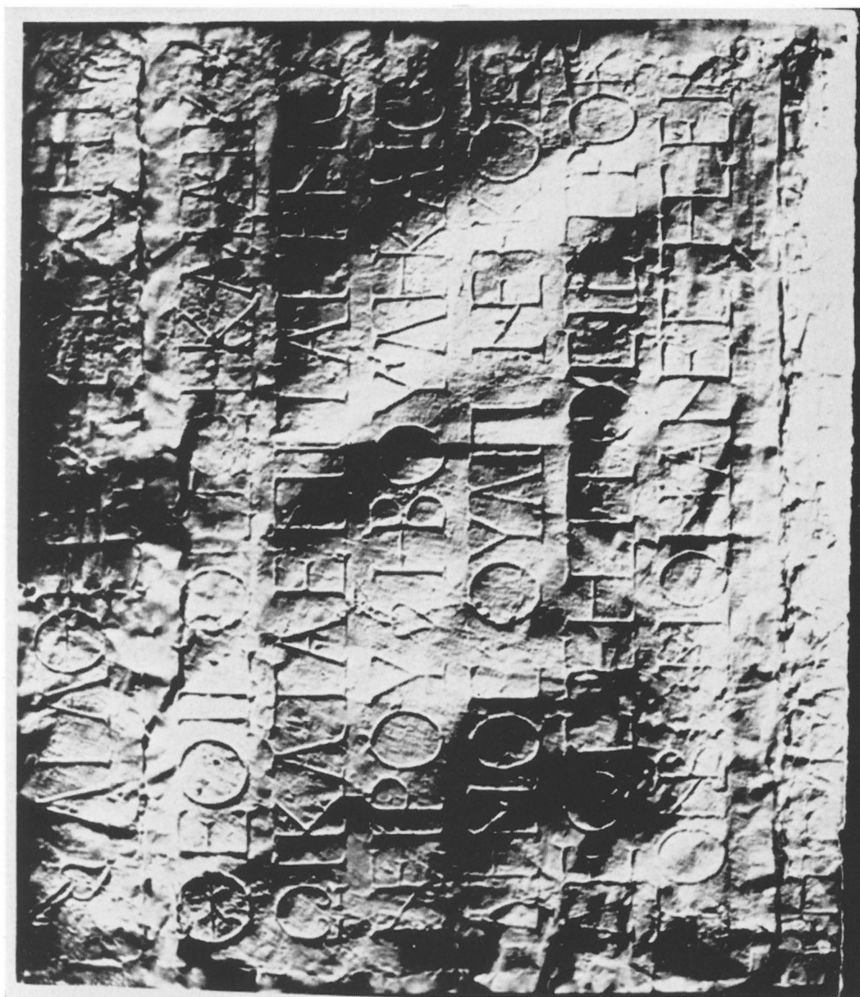
VI, 13

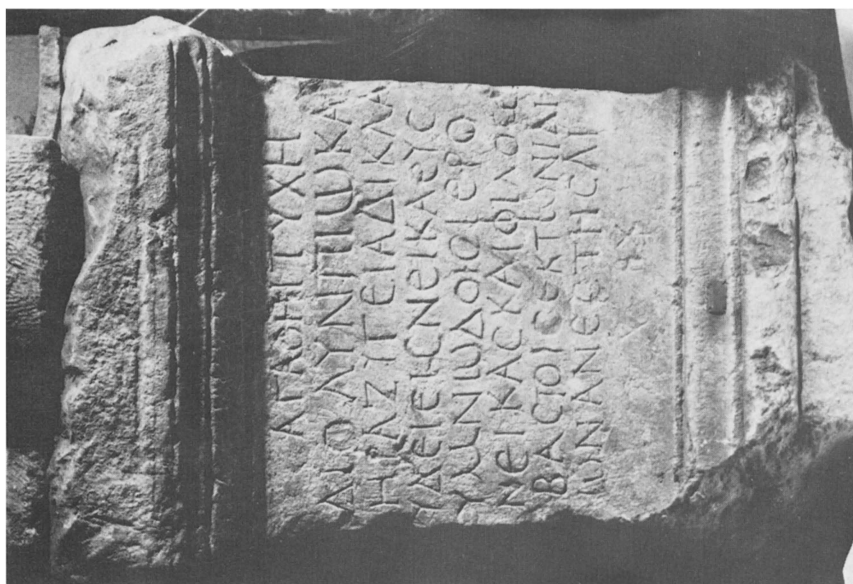


VII, 1

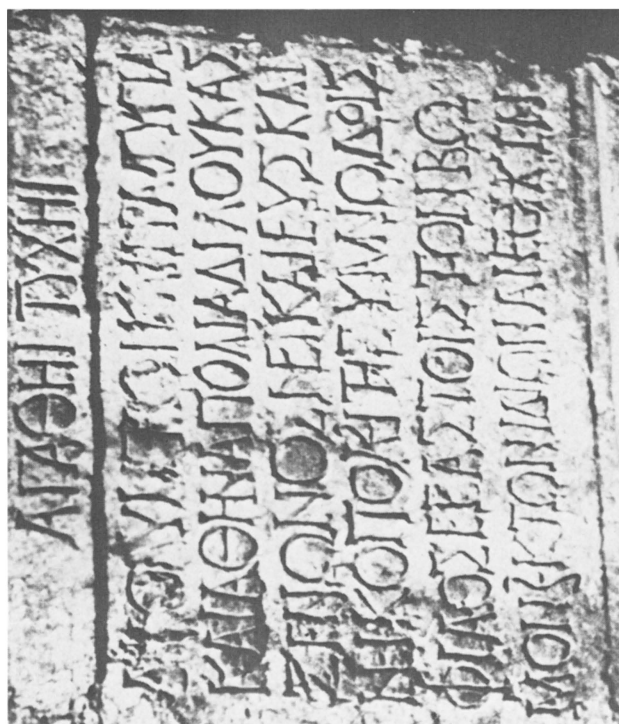


VII, 2





IX, 2



IX, 1

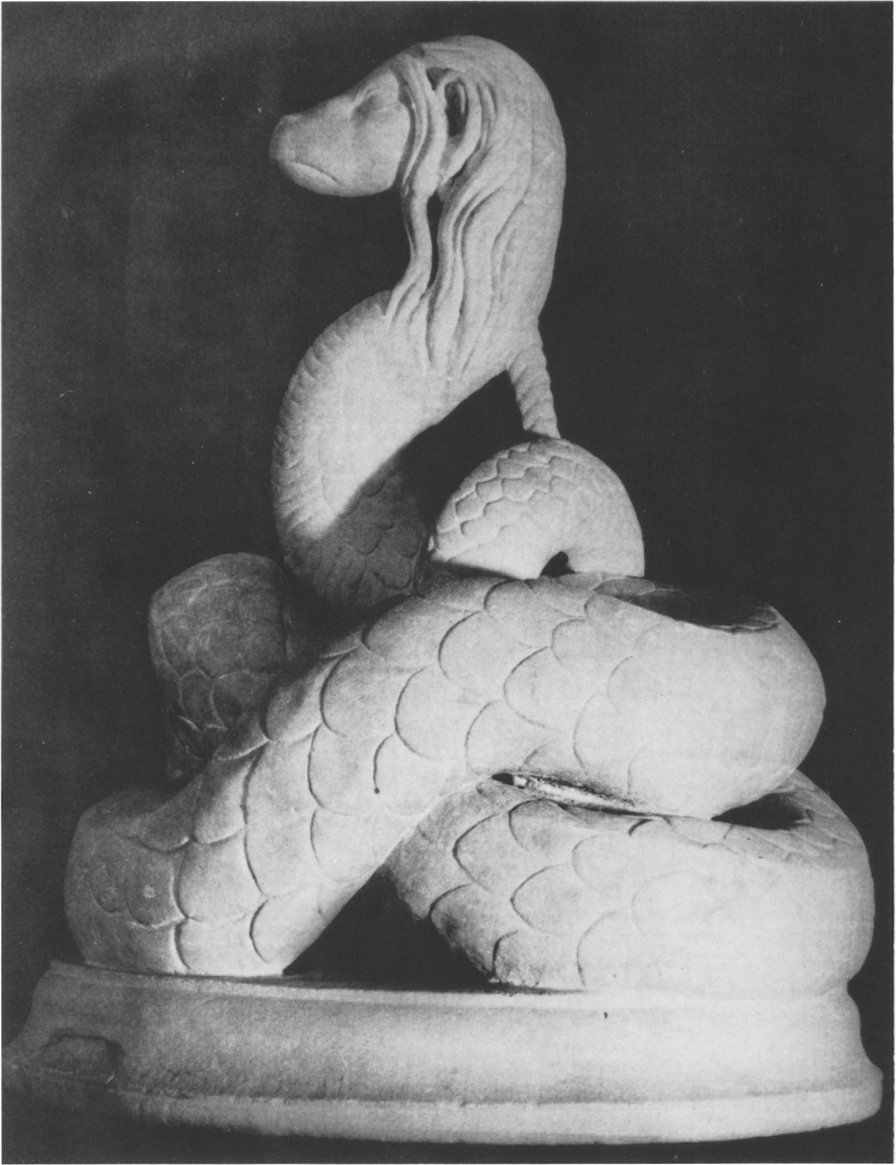


X, 3

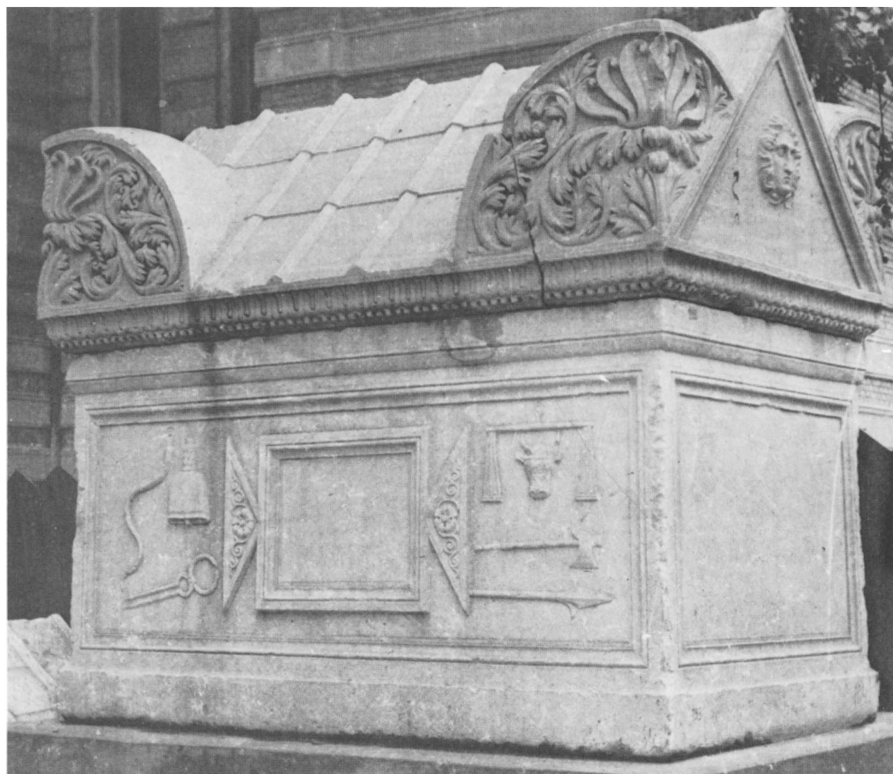


X, 9





XI, 1



XII, 1

EASTERN CULTS IN MOESIA INFERIOR AND THRACIA

I. The Egyptian Cults.

0 25 50 75 100 km.



EASTERN CULTS IN MOESIA INFERIOR AND THRACIA

II. The Cult of Cybele and Attis

0 25 50 75 100 km.



EASTERN CULTS IN MOESIA INFERIOR AND THRACIA

III. The Cults of Sabazios, Zeus Hypsistos and Jupiter Dolichenus

- Sabazios
- Zeus Hypsistos
- ▲ Jupiter Dolichenus

